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**INGATESTONE AND
THE ESSEX GREAT ROAD
WITH FRYERNING**

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Sir William Petre
from Holbein's painting at Thornodon Hall

ON THE
 GREAT ROAD
 EVENING

WILDE

THE UNIVERSITY

INGATESTONE AND THE ESSEX GREAT ROAD WITH FRYERNING

By E. E. WILDE

WITH FOUR CHAPTERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY

By MRS. ARCHIBALD CHRISTY

*With photogravure frontispiece, 64 other illustrations, 5 maps
and a plan*

C. J.

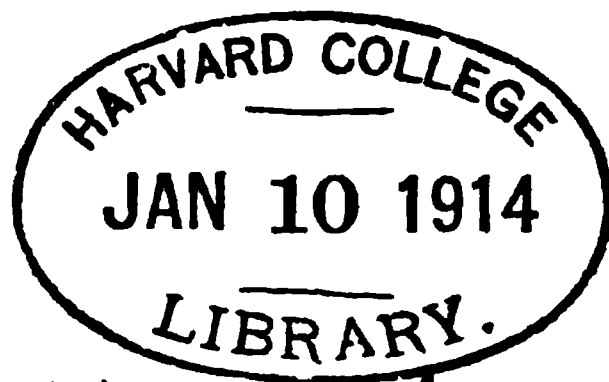
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Hall fund

**To the
Dear Memory of
M. H. Waldron**

•

‘THE Editor of this History . . . has endeavoured to describe every particular in an easy, natural manner. Avoiding the extreme of being either too elaborate, or too concise, he hopes to be happy enough to please the generality of readers. Apprized that the taste and dispositions of mankind widely differ, and that what might be amusing to one would be irksome to another, he has been more particularly attentive to yield to every purchaser a pleasing entertainment.’

History of Essex, by a Gentleman.

PREFACE

THERE can be few people who live so engrossed in the historic past as a cousin of mine, who, walking over a Surrey common one November afternoon, pulled out his watch, and looking at it said gravely, 'They are just sitting down to dinner'; my father stared at him amazedly, and the old general added, 'Guy Fawkes and his friends. Poor fellow!' But many people are interested in history, and perhaps more would be, were they to realize how the dry facts of which they read in books really affected either their own ancestors, who undoubtedly were living somewhere at that time, or the parish in which their own lot is cast to-day. When first I came to this country place it seemed to me there was little if any history connected with it, but it was not long before I changed my mind. First, the countless Roman bricks built into Fryerning Church walls met my eye Sunday after Sunday; then, wandering into Ingatestone Church, Sir William Petre's monument spoke loudly of Tudor days; and next, more slowly but perhaps more insistently, was borne in upon me the part that our road had played in English history; and always there remained the old Fryerning font, with its astronomical problem. Partly for my own amusement, partly for that of a dear old friend who often stayed with me at the time, I began to piece together various historic facts that had touched our village, some of which I used for a paper read at our small Historical Society at Blackmore, and intended writing a short sketch of the parish, as I found many people were interested in my idea. But the early history I found too difficult for me to disentangle, and, as it was impossible to send out a parish history without at least beginning with my ancestor William the Conqueror, I let the project drop until a few months ago, when, finding my friend Mrs. Christy had advanced far along

the road that had deterred me, I suggested to her that we should publish together our separate gleanings, and this little book is the result.

The book in no way professes to be a complete history of the parishes; we have had no access to the Court Rolls of either Fryerning or Ingatestone manors, which would doubtless throw much light on old days, neither have I been able to discover any ancient parish accounts, but thanks to the kindness of Rector C. Earle of Ingatestone and Rector W. J. House of Fryerning I have had free access to the Registers of both parishes, and have found in them a harvest of information. For my own part I can boast of no original research. I have simply pieced together the information I have found in a course of rather desultory reading, and am indebted to numberless friends and strangers for the kind way in which they have invariably answered my queries. The sources from which we have gathered our matter have largely been given either in the text or in foot-notes, and we have endeavoured as far as possible to verify all statements made, though in doing so some favourite theories may have been upset; but with all our care we shall be sure to be found in error in some places and defective in others. The word 'Papist', rather frequently used in Tudor and Stuart times, is not intended to be offensive, no other simple word takes its place, as 'Catholic', of course, includes not one branch only, but all members of the Holy Catholic Church; the three P's—Papist, Protestant, Puritan—were in those days the usual and most convenient names for the parties. My object has not been to write for the learned, but for the information and amusement of the ordinary inhabitants of our parishes, and other dwellers along the Great London-Harwich Road whose occupations make it difficult for them to have access to many books which I have had the opportunity of consulting. The book is divided into parts for the greater convenience of reference. It may be thought that I have sometimes wandered over far from purely parish history, but it seemed to me interesting to accompany our Rectors and principal inhabitants a little way out of our village, and occasionally to note what some of our neighbours were doing

Hyde, for two other portraits, all of which add interest to the work ; and lastly I must thank Mr. Archibald Christy for the excellent map of the two parishes, without which the book would have been incomplete.

E. E. WILDE.

FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY, 1913.

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I am indebted to the Authors and Editors of several of the above works
for permission to make extracts.¹

CONTENTS

PART I

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF INGATESTONE AND FRYERNING

By MRS. ARCHIBALD CHRISTY

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. BEFORE THE SAXONS	3
II. THE MONTFICHETS	10
III. THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS AND OTHERS	20
IV. GINGATTESTONE MONASTERY	30

PART II. THE PARISHES

By E. E. WILDE

CHAPTER I. THE CHURCHES AND WORSHIP	49
II. FRYERNING CHURCH	61
III. INGATESTONE CHURCH	71
IV. THE FONTS	84
V. BELLS AND BELL-FOUNDING	98
VI. BRASSES AT FRYERNING	107
VII. FRYERNING RECTORS, 1195-1687	110
VIII. RECTOR D'OYLEY AND HIS PARISHIONERS	136
IX. FRYERNING RECTORS, 1733-1913	146
X. INGATESTONE RECTORS, 1370-1913	164
XI. THE REGISTERS	193
XII. INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENTS AND TOMBSTONES	205
XIII. OTHER CHURCHES	221
XIV. CHARITIES	225
XV. SIR WILLIAM PETRE	229
XVI. THE PETRE FAMILY	237
XVII. PETRE MONUMENTS	251
XVIII. DANIEL SUTTON AND INOCULATION	260
XIX. SUTTON, HIS HOUSES AND HIS FAMILY	271
XX. HOUSES	278
XXI. INNS AND TRADE TOKENS	320
XXII. NATURE	335
XXIII. DIALECT WORDS	345

PART III. THE GREAT EAST ROAD

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. EARLY DAYS	349
II. TUDOR AND STUART DAYS	360
III. AS OTHERS SEE US	368
IV. TWO QUEENS AND A PRIZE FIGHT	376
V. PASSERS BY	389

PART IV. PAST AND FUTURE

CHAPTER I. YESTERDAY	399
II. TO-MORROW	406

APPENDIX

A. EXTRACTS FROM CHARTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS	409
B. FRYERNING CHURCH RESTORATION ACCOUNTS	412
C. LISTS OF RECTORS, PRIESTS, AND MINISTERS	413
D. EXTRACTS FROM RECTOR HAWDEN'S WILL. RECTOR RALPH'S BOOKS	416
E. NOTES ON REGISTERS, BY THE REV. O. W. TANCOCK, AND EXTRACTS FROM INGATESTONE REGISTERS	418
F. CHARITIES	454
G. FRYERNING FIELD-NAMES	463
H. FRYERNING VESTRY ACCOUNTS *	468
I. EXTRACTS FROM FRYERNING MANOR COURT ROLLS * AND ARCHDEACON'S BOOKS	471
K. A. E. I. O. U.	475
L. NAMES OF PARISHES AND HOUSES FOUND IN OLD MAPS, DEEDS, AND BOOKS	475
M. NOTES ON INGATESTONE CHURCH PLATE, BY THE REV. W. J. PRESSEY	477
INDEX OF NAMES	478
SUBJECT INDEX	487

* We only had access to these after the book was in the hands of the printer. See Preface.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I am indebted to several friends for many of the pictures, and to them I tender my sincere thanks.

	PAGE
1. Sir William Petre, from Holbein's painting at Thorndon Hall. <i>Donald Macbeth.</i>	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. Seal of Barking Abbey	11
3. Ingatestone Church, showing entrance to Rood-loft	<i>E. E. W.</i> 53
4. Fryerning Church	<i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde.</i> 61
5. Fryerning Church. Interior	„ 65
6. Fryerning Church Plate	„ 70
7. Ingatestone Church	<i>E. E. W.</i> 71
8. Ingatestone Church. Nave with hour-glass	„ 74
9. Fryerning Font. Sun, Moon, and Stars	„ 84
10. „ Tree of Jesse	„ 84
11. „ Vine	„ 91
12. „ „ Cross and Crown	„ 91
13. Abbess Roding Font. The Eight Stars	„ 93
14. „ „ The Four Planets in Earth's shadow	„ 93
15. „ „ Vine	„ 93
16. Little Laver Font. The Seven Planets and Lilies	„ 94
17. „ „ Vine and Rose and Hortus Inclusus	„ 94
18. Blackmore Church	„ 103
19. Blackmore. Tomb of Thomas and Margaret Smyth (d. 1594) <i>Miss G. A. Jones</i>	103
20. Fryerning Church. Berners Brass	<i>Mr. Miller Christy</i> 107
21. „ „ „ (Fragments) „ „	108
22. Fryerning Register. Rector's and Churchwardens' signatures <i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i>	193
23. Ingatestone Register	<i>E. E. W.</i> 203
24. Fryerning Churchyard, with Disney Tomb	„ 205
25. Ingatestone Church. Petre Monument	„ 205
26. Ginge Petre Hospital	<i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i> 225
27. Sir William Petre's Tomb in Ingatestone Church	„ 229
28. Ingatestone Hall	<i>E. E. W.</i> 236
29. Sir William Petre	„ 251
30. Dame Anne Petre	<i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i> 252

		PAGE
✓ 31.	Lord Petre's Monument in Ingatestone Church Vestry	<i>E. E. W.</i> 253
✓ 32.	Daniel Sutton (from a Pastel Drawing)	<i>Arthur V. Elsdon</i> 271
✓ 33.	Fryerning Hall. Oak Room	<i>E. E. W.</i> 279
✓ 34.	" Oak Bedroom	" 280
✓ 35.	" Linen-fold Panelling	<i>Miss N. M. Wood</i> 281
✓ 36.	" Oak Moulding and Panelling	" 281
✓ 37.	Fryerning Hall. From garden	<i>Mrs. Rankin</i> 282
38.	Burrins Pond, Furze Hall	<i>E. E. W.</i> 282
✓ 39.	Furze Hall	<i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i> 287
✓ 40.	Dutch Fire-back. Ingatestone Grange	<i>Mr. J. P. T. Foster</i> 289
✓ 41.	Huskards	<i>Mrs. Rankin</i> 290
✓ 42.	Fryerning Parish Room	" 290
✓ 43.	Thomas Hollis (from a painting made in Rome by R. Wilson)	<i>E. E. W.</i> 293
✓ 44.	Thomas Brand Hollis (from a drawing by Pozzi) <i>Donald Macbeth</i>	294
✓ 45.	Ingatestone Hall	<i>E. E. W.</i> 299
✓ 46.	" " Facing the Lime-Walk	" 303
✓ 47.	" " Entrance Gate	" 304
✓ 48.	" " Old Barn	" 305
✓ 49.	Old Mill Green House (from an old sand picture in the possession of Mr. Clift)	<i>E. E. W.</i> 308
50.	St. Leonards	<i>Mr. R. Miller</i> 313
✓ 51.	Potter's Row Farm, Mill Green	<i>E. E. W.</i> 317
✓ 52.	Seventeenth-century Mantelpiece, with Eighteenth- century Hot-Air Stove, Eagle Inn	" 327
✓ 53.	Eighteenth-century Stove, "	" 327
✓ 54.	" " "	" 327
✓ 55.	Ingatestone High Street (from an old print) <i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i>	329
✓ 56.	Ingatestone Tradesmen's Tokens (seventeenth century) <i>Donald Macbeth</i>	333
✓ 57.	Hall Mark on Fryerning Paten	<i>Mr. E. H. N. Wilde</i> 333
✓ 58.	Great Oak and Fryerning Hall	<i>E. E. W.</i> 336
✓ 59.	Old Cottages, Beggar Hill	" 349
✓ 60.	Fryerning Fair	<i>Mrs. Rankin</i> 362
✓ 61.	Will Kempe and Tom Slye	<i>Miss N. M. Wood</i> 362
✓ 62.	Ingatestone, from Churchyard	<i>E. E. W.</i> 370
✓ 63.	Ingatestone Street, with Bell Inn	" 370
✓ 64.	Old Cottages in Ingatestone Street, formerly Poor House <i>Miss D. Rock</i>	399
✓ 65.	Joseph Poole, clerk, and William Asher, sexton, Ingatestone (from old photograph) <i>Fred Spalding & Sons, Chelmsford</i>	400

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xv

MAPS AND PLANS

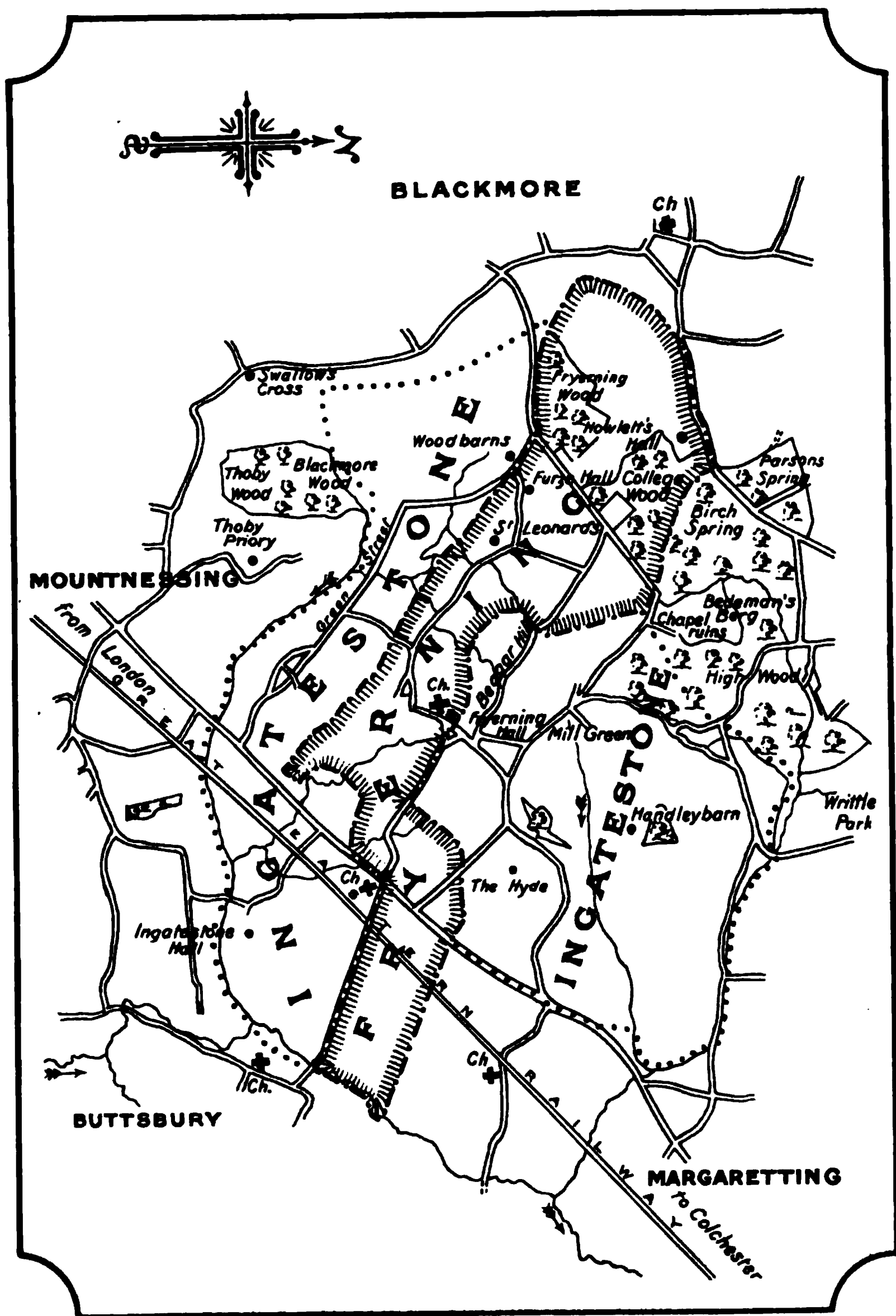
	PAGE
1. Map of Ingatestone and Fryerning	3
✓ 2. Plan of Hide Hall in 1731 (from old plan in the possession of Mr. Norton Disney) <i>Mr. Donald Salter</i>	299
✓ 3. Map of Eastern Counties River Basins (by kind permission of Dr. H. R. Mill and the British Rainfall Organization) .	339
✓ 4. Map of Afternoon Storms of June 24, 1897 <i>Mr. Donald Salter</i>	344
5. Ogilvy's Road Map, c. 1722 <i>E. E. W.</i>	368
6. Map of Essex, by Thomas Kitchen (from <i>England Illustrated</i> , 1764)	<i>at end.</i>

PART I

**A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE
EARLY HISTORY OF INGATESTONE
AND FRYERNING**

BY

MRS. ARCHIBALD CHRISTY



Map of Ingatestone and Fryerning.

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE SAXONS

THERE are many different ways by which the history of a neighbourhood may be revealed. There is printed matter in newspapers, periodicals, and books; there are the traditions of the place, which, though often distorted, yet contain some foundation of truth; there are the facts to be found in old deeds, State papers and charters; and sometimes a find of old pottery or coins, or remains of ruins or earthworks may suggest past history. We can also gather something from the names of places and old field-names, while a knowledge of the conditions of the country in very remote times can be arrived at by studying the geology of the district. By these means we are able to piece together some of the early history of Ingatestone and Fryerning.

In the very, very far past all this part of the world was a deep open sea filled with innumerable minute living creatures. The chalk found at a depth of about 600 ft. when digging Fryerning well, shows us this: for chalk is made up for the most part of the remains of skeletons of little marine creatures, and can only be formed in deep sea.

After this period, which probably came to an end by some great upheaval, there was a shallow sea about 500 ft. in depth, by which was deposited the brown and bluish mud which is spread nearly all over Essex and goes by the name of London clay. This shallow sea condition must have lasted a long time here, even when other parts of Essex—in the north, for instance—had become dry land. Some remains from this sea have been found, in the shape of fossil sea urchins (echinos), near the Boys' School, Fryerning Lane.¹

¹ Now in Miss Houchin's possession.

After the sea had subsided water still washed over our neighbourhood and left on Mill Green sand, and pebbles rounded by the action of water; geologists call this deposit Bagshot Beds, because the same kind of thing is found at Bagshot in Surrey. Frequently in this formation pebbles are found cemented into a hard rock sometimes called pudding-stone. Between the London clay and Bagshot Beds is found very good brick earth, some of the best in the country. The large flints which are so frequently met with about here are very interesting when one considers that they are formed by a flinty substance having gradually surrounded some object, perhaps a piece of seaweed or the bone of a fish; the object itself has generally disappeared completely, though occasionally the outline may be traced when the flint is broken open.¹ It gives one some idea of the great age of the flints when we hear that 2,000 years at least are required for the white coating to form on the outside.²

The warm peaceful time when the pebbles were being rounded by the water changed to a period of intense cold; some people tell us that this was about 200,000 years ago. It goes by the name of the Great Ice Age. Glaciers and icebergs floated down over Ingatestone and Fryerning, leaving their record behind them in those great stones or boulders, one of which, broken in two, stands on either side at the bottom of Fryerning Lane; there is also one in Ingatestone Churchyard, and another on the way to Blackmore. Glaciers also left behind them the soil called Glacial Drift, which some of us find in our gardens, and which was dug out in places at one time, and largely used as a manure.

The climate changed from the intense cold and became much as it is now, and forests sprang up of oak, ash, hornbeam, &c. Our neighbourhood is not very likely to have been chosen as a habitation by the very earliest race of men, for they preferred to live by the beds of rivers or near chalk hills where they could find plenty of stone suitable for making hatchets and knives. Some of these early stone implement makers may have penetrated into these forests now and again,

¹ Rice Holmes.

² *Essex Naturalist*, vol. ii, 1888.

for a stone thought to be a hammer-stone was found on Fryerning Hill. Most likely the first settlers here would be some tribe from the other side of the Channel, who would bring a certain amount of civilization with them; they would be men of the Bronze Age. We have indications of their presence here by the barrows or burial mounds. These barrows are not easy to trace now; there is one to the west of Fryerning Church, and in the High Woods there are some; possibly there was one in the field called 'Burrins' by Furze Hall. There was a large barrow on the left-hand side as one leaves Margaretting on the way to Chelmsford, but that has now been levelled with the ground.¹ The earliest race of men, when they buried their dead, did so probably in caves; the later race buried them in a sitting posture and piled stones round; but the men of the Bronze Age burned their dead and placed the ashes in a jar and built great mounds of earth over them. The British called these mounds barrows, and the Romans called them tumuli. The mounds vary in size from 20 to 150 ft. or more in diameter; some may be 24 ft. high or more,² and others hardly raised above the ground. The date in England of these barrows is from 1400 to 1200 B.C., about the time of Joshua and the Judges, down to about 500 B.C., the time of the fall of Babylon. There is a ditch across Mill Green called Moore's Ditch, which some think may have been dug as a means of defence by the Bronze Age barrow makers.

Our friends of the barrows may have been living here for centuries. Their religion was some kind of sun-worship. In the *Victoria History of Essex* we read that 'about 400 B.C. a fresh swarm of invaders came, bringing knowledge of the preparation of iron and the habit of using the metal. . . . Few remains of iron are found, as it is as perishable as useful.'³ When the Romans came they found this part of Britain inhabited by a tribe of Trinobantes, probably of Belgic origin. We are apt to imagine that before the Roman conquest all

¹ *Essex Review*, vol. xviii, p. 171.

² As at Marlborough.

³ vol. i, p. 268.

Britain was peopled by savages, whereas from the discovery of various things made then by the inhabitants of these parts we can see that some at least must have been men of skill and taste. In some cases their pottery was better than the Roman; the beautiful designs on their coins originally came from Greece. Specimens can be seen in the Colchester Museum. There was probably an encampment in these early times on Fryerning Hill where the church is now, for the churchyard is a round embankment, which is the form used by the early tribes.⁹ There may have been another camp of this period on the high ground by Furze Hall, which was called Camps and Hicamps. We do not know whether the men here made any kind of resistance when the Romans came. Very probably they had to leave this place undefended while they joined the main body of Boadicea's army, and in all probability numbers of them perished at the final battle fought between the Britons and Romans somewhere on the borders of this county and Hertfordshire.

There seems good reason to suppose that during the later years of the Roman rule certain families of a tribe of Alemanni settled here and elsewhere in the county, besides settling in many parts of the East and South of England.¹ These Alemanni came from the forests and mountains of Germany, and at one time they had been a scourge to the Romans; but at last they were completely subdued, and, accepting the Roman law and civilization, they were sent to colonize some of the Roman possessions.² The termination 'ing' appearing in the name of a village often, though not always, points to its having once belonged to some of this tribe. The word 'Ing'³ meant part of or son of, and then a possession or property, later on an enclosure and then meadow.⁴

In ancient records six of the villages round here were all called Ing or Ging: Ingatestone, Fryerning, Buttsbury, Ingrave, Mountnessing, and Margaretting. Afterwards a dis-

¹ Seebohm's *Village Communities*.

² H. Fisher, *Medieval Empire*.

³ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. xii, p. 11.

⁴ T. Wright, *The Homes of Other Days*, and Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* We still have the words *farthing*, a fourth part; *riding* or *thriding*, a third part.

tinguishing mark was added, such as Mountney's Ing, the piece belonging to one Mountney; Ingrave, or Ing Ralph, the Ing belonging to Ralph. The parts of this Ing near the big boulders were called Ing-at-the-Stone, and one part of this became known as Friars' Ing, the Ing belonging to the Friars; still later the whole of one of the parishes was called Ingate-stone, and the whole of the other Fryerning.

The word Alemanni is said to denote the mixed character of the race. Some derive the word from Alah, a temple, or Ala, meaning noble. The Alemanni do not seem to have left any written records behind them here, and it is the same in Bavaria where they settled, no memories of them survive.¹ They were good tillers of the soil, and the Romans no doubt allotted to them estates for cultivation by the great road.² It was customary to allot estates of about 240 acres, of a rectangular shape, by the side of the principal Roman roads.³ These parcels of land were bounded by walls (ditches) and stones. The big boulders here may have been used as boundary stones, and possibly the field, near 'Docklands', called 'Walls'⁴ takes its name from a wall in Roman times bounding one of these estates. The boulder now by Woodcock Lodge on the road to Blackmore may have been used as the western boundary stone to one of these pieces. It was found about two feet from the surface when land-draining on the north-east side of the round plantation near St. Leonards, Fryerning. When Woodcock Lodge was built the stone was removed by means of horses to its present position. The rectangular piece on the east side of the high road is just about 240 acres, as also is the piece west of the high road ending by the St. Leonards property.⁵

There may have been a large settlement of Alemanni on Fryerning Hill and elsewhere in this neighbourhood. It may have been this tribe who made the Roman bricks which are so plentifully used in the walls of these churches and also

¹ H. Fisher, *Medieval Empire*.

² See p. 31.

³ U. A. Forbes and A. E. Burmeister, *Roman Highways*. See map of parishes.

⁴ Tithe map, Board of Agriculture, St. James's Square, W.

⁵ See map of parishes.

found in the foundations of old cottages. This tribe practised all the arts of the Romans,¹ and no doubt they were living here for several hundred years. These rectangular-shaped estates may have been partly the cause of the curious shape of Fryerning parish.² The parishes here were formed in late Saxon times.

The high road through Ingatestone would have been made by now, that is previous to the Saxon times, for it is a Roman road. There was also probably a way up to Fryerning Hill from the high road, by the south side of the house called The Chase; there are marks of an old track, and also some ancient horseshoes were found there, thought to be Roman. Green Street was very probably a road then, but Fryerning Lane seems to have been made much later. The road to Highwood over Mill Green was perhaps not made till the end of the eighteenth century, as it is not marked on a map of 1777. Margaretting Lane, which passes to the north of The Hyde, is marked on this eighteenth-century map. Beggar Hill and Maple Tree Lane look like very old tracks, and were also probably much used in the time of the monasteries. The road to St. Leonards and Furze Hall does not appear to be a very old road; at one time it passed close by where the present house of St. Leonards stands.³

We may reasonably suppose that some Christian teaching reached the inhabitants of these villages during the Roman occupation, but if so it would have been lost when the Saxon hordes swept over Britain.⁴ The conversion of the East Saxons did not take place till the seventh century, when Oswy, king of Northumbria and overlord of Essex, sent Bishop Cedd or Chad from Lindisfarne to preach to them.⁵ Sigebert,

¹ Fisher, *Medieval Empire*.

² Professor Vinogradoff, in his *Growth of the Manor*, p. 84, refers to 'that astonishing building up of a rectangle, cutting right through the natural accidents of the soil'. See map of the parishes.

³ As seen in excavating during repairs to the house of St. Leonards.

⁴ A. H. Thompson, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church*.

⁵ Sigebert, a former king of the East Saxons, professed Christianity, but he does not seem to have converted his subjects, or if so they relapsed under the reign of his heathen sons. *Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral*, by the Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair, p. 3.

king of the East Saxons, was baptized at St. Peter's at the Wall,¹ near Bradwell in this county. What remains of the chapel is now used as a place for storing farm implements. The county then included Middlesex and part of Hertfordshire. It had its own king for three hundred years; first Colchester and then London was its capital. In these Saxon times when the parishes were formed, little churches may have been built where the present churches of Ingatestone and Fryerning now stand. If so they were most likely constructed of wood, for the Saxons were not great builders, and of 1,700 churches existing when the Normans came, nearly all were of wood. In 841 it was a law in England that 'if a church be ruinous the serfs belonging to such church shall give 20 days yearly to keep it in repair'. It was also about this time that it was decided that 'tithes and repairs are due to the Parish Church from all who have resorted to it for baptism and other rites'.²

When the Danes came to our land they destroyed all the monasteries and churches that came in their way, so our little churches of Ingatestone and Fryerning are not likely to have escaped.

¹ Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, chapter xxii; A. H. Thompson, *Hist. Growth of Parish Church*.

² Brewer's *Hist. of Tithes and Endowments*.

CHAPTER II

THE MONTFICHETS

PART of Ingatestone was in the possession of Barking Abbey from Saxon times down to the dissolution of the Abbey in 1539. The Abbey of Barking was founded about 670 by Erkenwald, bishop of London, and was the first 'monastery' for women in England. It was dedicated to 'the honour of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary'. It was burnt by the Danes in 870,¹ the same year in which they murdered King Edmund. The Danish pirates could get up to Barking in their ships, which were very light and only about 80 to 100 feet long and not more than 20 feet wide; they had one large square sail, and when the wind dropped they were rowed with long oars.² Barking Abbey lay desolate for one hundred years, and then King Edgar re-established it and endowed it with further lands. Probably the land in Ingatestone was given at this time, 950, by the king. One reason for thinking this, is that Ingatestone was given to Barking *before* the Conquest, as it is mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and also in this Survey a 'socman' is mentioned on the estate, which points to the land having once belonged to the king; and further, Ingatestone is not mentioned in the charter of 692 granted by Hodeldred, father of Sebba, king of the East Saxons, though various other grants of land in Essex are mentioned.³

Ingatestone Church was no doubt rebuilt about King Edgar's time and given the dedication of St. Edmund, who, though he had been dead about one hundred years, was only just canonized.

¹ Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, chap. vi, and *Vict. Hist. Essex*, vol. ii, p. 115.

² Paper read by G. Jackson, Esq., London and Middlesex Arch. Soc., June, 1907.

³ B.M. Cotton MS. Aug. 11. 29.

BARKING (CO. ESSEX) BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF ST. MARY
AND ST. ETHELBURGA

Thirteenth-century seal in British Museum, 2588. Series of three cusped arches supported on four slender pillars, containing St. Erkenwald with pastoral staff and book—between two abbesses, SS. Ethelburga and Hidelitha (?), each with pastoral staff. Over the head of the abbess, on the left an inverted crescent, on the right an estoile. Above, the Virgin and Child, St. Peter with keys to left, St. Paul with sword to right; at sides, two candlesticks with tall candles; below, abbess at prayer.

....VA...RKING....ÖVENT....[P]ROTEGAT.IS[TUM]

At the Norman Conquest Barking was allowed to retain possession of Ingatestone as well as other property in Essex: in Mucking, Bulphan, Benfleet, Parndon, Wigborough, Warley, Freshing, Stifford, Hockley, Tollesbury, and a small piece in Buttsbury.

When the great people of the Abbey journeyed about they would be supplied with provisions for themselves and their retainers from their different estates through which they passed. Amongst the servants of the Abbess we find mentioned a yeoman cook, a groom cook, and a pudding wife; perhaps these would go in advance to prepare the meals. The Abbess of Barking was a very important person; she was a baroness in her own right. Maud, the wife of Henry I, was Abbess of this convent at one time, and a few years later Stephen's wife became Abbess.

We obtain a great deal of information concerning our parishes from the wonderful survey made by William the Conqueror, the Domesday Survey. There is difficulty in discovering which particular parts of the neighbourhood are referred to in this document, because of so many of them being merely called Ing or Ging. The part of Ingatestone which belonged to the Abbess of Barking at the time of the Conquest consisted of $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 10 acres; that would be about 430 acres, for a hide in this part of the country was 120 acres. There were 6 or 7 bordars, or what we might term cottagers, living on the estate, and 2 villeins, that is better class men, and 1 serf—he would be a man in charge of the team of 8 oxen for the plough belonging to the Abbess. There was one plough for the Abbess, and one plough for the men who lived on the land. There was woodland for 500 pigs. There was also one important man called a socman, with 30 acres of land. There were 1 horse, 9 beasts, 20 swine (though there was feed enough for many more), and 16 sheep. The whole estate was valued at £3; that was what it brought in yearly. Money was worth very much more in those days than at the present time.

Another part of Ginge was taken from Siward, the Saxon owner, and given at the Conquest to Robert Gernon, one of

William I's followers. There were 3 hides, 4 or 5 acres of which were under cultivation; also wood for 400 swine; but though very similar in size to the Barking property, it was only valued at £1. The brunt of taxation was borne by the land of the tenants, while the demesne farms were as a rule exempted from it. But we must remember that the nobles did military service for their land, and held themselves responsible for bringing a large company into the field in time of war. Another piece of land of about 190 acres, Robert Gernon leased to Ilgar. It had belonged to Edwin Grut; it contained wood for 40 swine, also 2 acres of meadow land. One of the many Ingas mentioned in Domesday was probably Wood Barns and another Hanley Green, at one time called Hanley Manor and Hanley Barn. The word barn is from the Saxon 'bere', barley, and 'ern', a place for storing. By 1291 these places belonged to Barking, which fact we learn from the taxation of Pope Nicholas. This was a valuation made on account of a temporary grant of the tenths made by Pope Nicholas to Edward I.

The part which we believe was Fryerning had belonged to two Saxons called Silva and Topi, but was given to Gernon. It consisted of a manor of about 400 acres; there was one villein residing here and 14 bordars or cottagers; these would till the land for themselves, but be obliged to do a certain amount for their lord. There was wood enough for 100 pigs, 4 acres of meadow land, 10 beasts, 1 horse, afterwards 5 horses. As a rule oxen would be used for the plough. It is also mentioned that there were 2 hives of bees. Honey formed an important item in those days; mead, a very favourite drink, was made from honey; the wax was used for candles, a large quantity of which were required for the churches. Occasionally a portion of land was set apart to grow flowers for the bees.¹ The whole of this estate brought in £4. Though this piece was less in extent than the Barking piece it was under cultivation and so worth more. There was also some 30 acres given to Gernon, which had belonged to a Saxon named Borda, and was worth 10s. Borda also owned Patching Hall,

¹ Fisher's *Forests of Essex*.

Broomfield. The description of all this part in Domesday Book is as follows:—

‘Inga is held of Robert by William, it was held by Silva and Topias for a manor and for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 31 acres and Robert had it in exchange. Always one villein and 14 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ team on the demesne and $1\frac{1}{2}$ team of the homagers. Wood for c swine, 4 acres of meadow. Then x beasts now the like number. Then 1 horse, now 5, always xx sheep, then xxx swine now 16. Now 2 hives of bees. It has always been worth £4. And 30 acres were held by Borda, now by Robert. Always in this $\frac{1}{2}$ a team and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. It is worth x shillings.’

The Fryerning piece was leased to some one called William. William may have married Gernon's daughter, and so have come into the property. Anyway, all Robert Gernon's property in this part passed to a William called Montfichet. A Sieur Montfichet came over with the Conqueror from the little village of Montficquet in Normandy, situated between Bayeux and St. Lo. This Sieur Montfichet was present at the battle of Hastings, and it was he who built one of the two towers at the western extremity of the City of London. The one known as Baynard's Castle long remained, but the other, Montfichet's, was pulled down in 1276, having already got into bad repair, and the materials were used in building the great monastery for Black Friars within the walls of the City.¹

William Montfichet, who we may suppose was grandson to Sieur Montfichet, and who was Robert Gernon's heir and possibly his grandson, built a castle at Stanstead in Essex, the site of which can still be traced. The Montfichets, even if they did not live at Fryerning (as they may have done, for they did not live at Stanstead²), would stay a night here now and again, perhaps on their journeys to the Continent. William Montfichet with the consent of his wife founded a monastery at West Ham in 1135.³ This was sometimes called Stratford Langthorne monastery, and must not be confused, as is often is, with Stratford atte Bowe, which was a convent for nuns and founded rather earlier.⁴

¹ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. v, p. 183; Miss Fry's *East and West Ham*, &c.

² *Farnham, Essex*, by Rev. J. Geare.

³ Cotton MS. Faust. B. 7; Newcourt; Dugdale.

⁴ *Ibid.*

In all probability William Montfichet built or rebuilt Fryerning Church. The walls of the nave are thought to be of this date, about 1135. The builders used the materials ready to hand, flints and pudding stone and the old bricks remaining about the place from Roman times. The church would probably be used as a place of defence in the troublous times of the wars of Stephen. William Montfichet married Margaret, the wealthy daughter of Gilbert Clare.¹ The family of Clare was a very interesting one. One of Margaret's brothers was the first Earl of Hertford,² and another was Earl of Pembroke. The earldoms of Hertford and Gloucester were united by the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Amicia, the heiress of Robert Earl of Gloucester, half-brother to the Empress Mathilda, mother of Henry II.

It is not known who gave the beautiful font in Fryerning Church, but it was given about this time, the latter part of the twelfth century ; so most probably it was either the gift of a Montfichet, possibly Margaret, or it may even have been a gift from the Empress Mathilda, and may have been sent from Normandy where the Empress ended her days. She died in 1167, and was buried in the Abbey of Bec. The Montfichets had been zealous supporters of her cause, besides being connected with her by marriage, so she might well wish to present some gift to their church at Fryerning. She gave very generously to monasteries and churches. Abbess Roothing has a similar font to that at Fryerning, and so has Little Laver. The Empress may have presented these fonts as well, for Abbess Roothing had belonged to her mother as Abbess of Barking, and Little Laver was at this time in the hands of Mathilda's son, Henry II.

William and Margaret had two sons, William and Gilbert. William was a minor at his father's death, and his maternal uncle, a Clare, was appointed his guardian.³ We hear that this uncle gave to the king one of William's knight's fees in Ginge, which he held from his mother ; we do not know in which particular Ginge this land was. The suggestion has

¹ Rot. de Dom. 31 Hen. II, ed. by Stacey Grimaldi, 1830.

² *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. v.

³ *Ibid.*

been made that it was Margaretting, and very possibly this village took its name from Margaret Montfichet, the church being dedicated to her patron saint.¹ On William's death without issue Gilbert came into the property. Gilbert must have been a gay courtier in his younger days, for we hear that in 1157 he owed the king 200 marks of silver for two hawks and two gir falcons. The silver or Danish mark was 20s., or 100 Saxon pennies, so if the comparative value of money is considered, he must have paid an enormous sum for his hawks, equal to the price paid for racehorses now. He seems to have been almost as much in Normandy as in England.¹ In 1167 he no doubt attended the marriage of Henry II's daughter with Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, for Gilbert had assisted in bringing it about, for which service Henry II granted him many privileges. This wedding took place in the newly finished hall of the palace at Rouen.² In the following year Gilbert gave some of his Fryerning property to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.³ He gave it so as to ensure prayers being said for the soul of his father William, who had died many years before, and for the soul of his mother yet alive. He gave the manor, but retained the outer woods called Westfrid for himself and his heirs. His son Richard confirmed the gift.⁴

Margaret Montfichet survived her husband and two sons, and on her death, which took place between 1185 and 1190,⁵ masses were ordered to be said for her soul in Fryerning Church, then called Ging Hospital. The Prior, Garnier de Naplouse, gave the order to the chaplain here, Henry of Malden.⁶

Richard Montfichet, son of Gilbert, was Forester or Keeper of the Forest of Essex, and custodian of the king's house at Havering and of all the king's houses in the Forest. The

¹ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. v.

² Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. i, p. 344.

³ Newcourt, vol. ii, p. 12; Dugdale, *Mons. Angl.*, vol. ii, p. 510.

⁴ Rot. Chart., 1 Johannis, pars I, no. 17; Appendix A. 1 & 2.

⁵ Delaville la Rous, *Cartulaire General des Hospitaliers*, vol. iv, p. 322; Appendix A. 3.

⁶ Cotton MS. Nero E. vi, f. 215, xv. 3; Appendix A. 3.

office of Keeper of the king's forest was one of great importance, and much work was attached to it. The Essex Forest at one time spread over a great part of this county, but by the time of King John the royal forest was much curtailed, and divided up into different parts. Waltham Forest, now known as Epping Forest, was one part; Hainault Forest was another part; there were also the forests of the king's demesnes of Havering, Writtle, Hatfield and King's Wood near Colchester. Part of the king's forest of Writtle we still know as the High Woods, 'High' implying royal possession, as in High Road, the King's High Way. These High Woods in Writtle Parish were retained as royal forest and were under forest law till 1635.

Some of the bounds of the country to be disforested in King John's time are thus described:—

'Beyond the causeway towards the north which leads from Stratford towards Colchester, as far as the wood of Wildhora where at the head of the ditch called Haydicke it is joined to the aforesaid causeway and from thence beyond the causeway as the wood extends to the new bridge and from thence as the highways extend as far as "Heilands"' (Rot. Chart. John, v. 1204).

Mr. Fisher, in his *Forests of Essex*, I think may be mistaken when he says 'this causeway is of course the Stanstrete, but a later perambulation made in 1301 shows that only a part of the country on the north of the road was forest and included in the disforestation. . . . I cannot identify the other places named, but the bridge is probably one of the Colchester bridges, and Heilands may be the wood marked as High Wood in old maps and situated at the south part of Mile End Heath.'

Knowing this part of the county intimately, I should like to suggest that the land described as the causeway was not Stanstrete but *this* Roman road from Stratford to Colchester; the Weldhora would be North Weald; the ditch called Haydicke would be by Mountnessing, where there is now a bridge called Haybridge.¹ I do not know where the 'new bridge' may have been, but possibly over the stream at Margaretting.

¹ This is at the boundary of Mountnessing and Ingatestone parishes.

'From thence as the highways extend,'—this would be by Margaretting Smithy, where the road divides and one way leads to Writtle and the other to Chelmsford. 'Heilands' would be Hylands in Widford parish, the 'Hoilands' which belonged to Jocosa Montfichet (see p. 19).

The soil of the forest was sometimes in the hands of the Crown and sometimes in the hands of private owners; but in any case the right of forest, 'vert and venison', as it was called, was in the hands of the Crown.¹ The forest laws were very severe. For chasing a royal stag 'till it panted' a free-man was imprisoned for a year, and a serf for two years; for killing a stag or roe, the penalty was the loss of an eye. The 'vert' was the trees. There were strict laws as to cutting wood; for cutting it unlawfully a man was fined the value of the horse and cart used in carrying away the spoil. For cutting an oak 'or other tree which bears fruit for the deer', the fine was 20s. Hawthorn, crab, and holly were included in 'vert'. Courts were held in the forest to try the various cases. The archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons might take a deer when they travelled through the king's forest, but they must sound a horn to let the forester know what they were doing, 'so as not to appear like a thief'. Permission was often given to enclose and cultivate part of the forest land; this permission was called licence to assart. Such pieces were not fenced off in any way at first, but in 1221 the order was given to make ditches and fences round, or the king would take the piece of land back. The Knights Hospitallers obtained licence to enclose their woods of Ginges, that is Fryerning, in 1230. The grant runs thus:

'Grant to Robert de Diva, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England and brothers of the said Hospital of license to enclose their woods of Ginges Co. Essex, and to do therewith what they will without the view and denial of the forester, verderers and regards with a free right of way (chemini) so that the said wood and assarts since made shall be quit of waste, regard and view, saving the king's venison.'²

Richard Montfichet dared to enclose some land, *without*

¹ Fisher's *Forests of Essex*. ² *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, p. 116, 1230.

the king's permission, and was heavily fined, even though he himself held the post of Keeper of the Forest.

In 1264 a Ralph de Ginges had licence for life to hunt with his own dog, the hare, the fox, the cat and the badger in the king's forest of Essex.¹ The cat may have been the marten, but more likely the wild cat, such as was found until a few years ago in some woods in Scotland.

Presents of timber were made by the king to various people, and the keeper of the forest would be responsible for having the order properly carried out. For instance, a nun of Barking was to have timber for her repairs: 'To give Rose de Souley, a nun of Barking, an oak out of the Forest of Essex to repair her chamber in the said Abbey, taken where it would least injure the said forest.'² Another order was to give the brethren of the Hospital of Ilford three dry oaks for firing, out of Havering Forest. Another was for 'timber trees to make 100 joists to be sent to the Constable of Dover'.³ Sometimes presents of deer were to be made to people to stock their parks. One order was for six cartloads of charcoal to dry the king's crossbow. In Henry III's time the Abbess of Barking was to be allowed her reasonable 'Estovers in her wood of Hainault for her firing, cooking, and her brewing'. 'Estover' was material of any kind (O. Fr. 'estoffer', hence 'stuff').⁴

The dogs belonging to people living near the king's forest had to have their claws cut so as not to damage the king's game. This law is alluded to in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, when the dog Fangs comes up to his master limping, and Gurth, the swineherd, curses the 'Ranger of the forest, that cuts the foreclaws off our dogs and makes them unfit for their trade'.

Little dogs were exempt from this law. A 'little dog' was one that could pass through the great stirrup of William Rufus.

In 1194 Richard Montfichet attended his royal master Richard I to Normandy, and he is said to have made a pil-

¹ Charter Roll, 1264.

² Rot. Lit. 17 Henry III.

³ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. v.

⁴ Ibid.

many years.⁴

The property of the Montfichets went to Richard's two sisters, and through them to Philip Burnel, who was nephew of the Bishop of Bath and Wells,⁵ and eventually it came to the de Veres, Earls of Oxford.

¹ *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, 17 John, 1215, p. 144.

² Morant, vol. ii, p. 576.

³ Newcourt, *Essex Dioceses*, p. 551.

⁴ Miss Fry, *East and West Ham*. ⁵ *Ibid.*, and Morant, vol. ii, p. 577.

CHAPTER III

THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS AND OTHERS

THE village and church of Fryerning were given, as we have seen, by Gilbert Montfichet to the Knights Hospitallers in 1167. The Knights Hospitallers¹ formed one of the most celebrated military Orders of the Middle Ages. The other great Order, that of the Knights Templars, seems to be the one best known at the present day, and a general idea prevails that it was the more important of the two. This was not so: the Order of the Hospitallers was founded first and lasted several centuries longer; it was also the wealthier. Possibly the various names given to the Knights Hospitallers at different times has created a slight confusion. They were called Knights of Rhodes when they were in possession of that island for 200 years, and Knights of Malta when they moved there in 1530, Malta being given to them by the Emperor Charles V. They are also known as Knights of St. John.

It was in 1014 that some merchants from Amalfi in Italy, who were in Jerusalem, combining a pilgrimage with trading, built a hospital or hospice for poor and sick pilgrims. Its religious duties were carried on by Benedictine monks appointed for the purpose. Two churches were erected, one for each sex; that for women was dedicated to St. Mary, and that for men to St. John the Almoner, a former patriarch of Jerusalem; subsequently the dedication was changed to St. John the Baptist. Grateful pilgrims who had been nursed back to health in this hospital, on their return to Europe, spread far and wide the fame of these establishments, and contributions flowed in from all quarters. Some years after the first founding of the hospital many knights gave up their

¹ Porter's *Knights of Malta*; Delaville le Roux, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*; Pink's *Clerkenwell*.

martial career and gave themselves up to a life of religion. They joined the charitable fraternity and organized themselves into a regularly constituted body, taking upon themselves the three vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. The habit selected was a plain black robe, bearing on the left breast a white cross with eight points. Since the Knights were at Malta it has been called a Maltese cross. The Knights were allowed to fight in defence of their Faith, but not otherwise. The Order was divided into three classes: Knights of Justice, Religious Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. Ladies were admitted to the Order and had branch establishments. The first in England was at Stondon, in Hertfordshire, but it was afterwards moved to Mynchon Bucklands, in Somersetshire. The ladies, as well as the Knights, had to give proof of noble descent before they were allowed to join the Order. The Knights, who were men from all the European Christian nations, elected their own head, who was called the Grand Master and held the office for life. Now and again the office was held by an Englishman.

At first the head-quarters of the Order were at Jerusalem; but when the Holy City was taken by the Turks the Knights moved to Acre, and in the latter part of the thirteenth century they had a stronghold in Cyprus, and their work was to escort pilgrims across the sea to and from the Holy Land. Later they possessed Rhodes and then Malta as their citadel. The Knights Hospitallers and Knights Templars were chiefly instrumental in holding Jerusalem against the Infidels. Many Crusaders gave land to the Knights. In 1200 Matthew Paris tells us that the Knights Hospitallers possessed 19,000 manors in different parts of Europe, and the Templars 9,000. When the Templars were suppressed in 1314 most of their property was given to the Hospitallers, the Temple in London among other places. This they leased to lawyers, who have kept possession of it ever since.

In England Clerkenwell was chosen as the head-quarters of the Knights Hospitallers; and the Priory established there was founded in Henry I's reign by Jordan de Briset, an Essex man. His daughter married a Mountney. The Prior at

Clerkenwell, head of the Knights in England, took precedence of all the barons of the realm.

The large places in the possession of the Knights were called Preceptaries, and later Commandaries; the small possessions were called Camera. Fryerning was one of the latter, and would therefore be under a bailiff, who would have to send up the profits of the estate to head-quarters. A list giving the value of the Knights' property in England has been found at Malta. The profit from Fryerning was put at 40 marks—about £26¹—that is, about £624 of our present money. In the year of the peasant rising in Richard II's reign the Prior of the Hospital in England was Robert de Hales, and he was one of the chief persons on whom the popular vengeance was wreaked.² He was murdered at Clerkenwell by the mob, and the Knights, in consequence of these occurrences, obtained the following favour from the king:

'Protection in view of the losses in the late disturbances for one year for the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem for Hildebrand Ing, one of the brethren chosen by them their governour and president during the voidance, and for the said brethren their men and their possessions.'³

The 'voidance' was caused by the murder of the Prior. Hildebrand Ing also had a commission to arrest those who 'congregate or unlawfully assemble or incite insurrection'.

The mob carried away articles to the value of £20 from the Knights' church at Cressing, in Essex, taking armour and vestments, gold and silver, and burning precious books. They may have come to Fryerning. Possibly some unpleasantness with the people in the village may have caused the rector to exchange livings, for in 1381 a rector was appointed who exchanged that same year.⁴ He did not like the position for some reason.

In Edward III's reign the Knights evidently procured a loan of a large sum of money from a certain citizen of London,

¹ Camden Soc. 1857, Larking and Kemble; Appendix A. 4.

² *Vict. Hist. Essex*, vol. ii, p. 178.

³ *Cal. of State Papers*, 1381.

⁴ Newcourt, *Essex Dioceses*, p. 667.

windows in Fryerning Church, and perhaps a stone screen.¹ There were no screens in churches till 1200. The Rood loft, the stairs to which still remain, would not be put in till after 1300, as there were none in England till after that date; they were universal in 1400 but were ordered to be removed in 1561.² The piscina in the south wall may have belonged to a chantry altar placed by the side of the chancel arch, possibly a chantry to Philip Burnel; he died in 1294. There were no piscinas till the middle of the twelfth century. The brass matrix of a half-length figure of a priest, which is now in the Fryerning porch, may have been to mark the tomb of a Fryerning rector of about this date, the end of the thirteenth

¹ Close Rolls, Ed. III, 1340.

² Inquis. 22 Ed. I. ³ Appendix A. 4.

⁴ Bond, *Screens and Lofts*, 1909.

⁵ *Church Times*, 'F.S.A.', March 1, 1907.

century; and the stone coffin-lids which are also now in the porch, may be from the tombs of other rectors of Fryerning; they are of early fourteenth-century work.¹ The rectors may have been also stewards for the Knights Hospitallers, and so men of more standing than most village priests of those early days. Henry de Maldon, Rector of Fryerning, in 1190 seems to have been given the important post of Abbot of Beeleigh Abbey; a Henry de Maldon was Abbot there in 1209.

The Hospitallers, we suppose, built the tower of Fryerning Church about the year 1500.² They could afford to go to this expense at this time, for they had just received 10,000 ducats from Bajazet, Sultan of the Turks, whom they had conquered in the East. It seems probable that the bricks for the tower were made in the meadow on the south-west side of the top of Fryerning Lane; for the field in which Wellmead garden was made in 1899 was called Brick Clamps, and burnt earth and remains of bricks are sometimes found there. The Abbess of Barking, not wishing to be outdone by the Knights, seems to have had a rather similar tower built at Ingatestone Church. The bricks for this were made in the east of the Fair Field; brick earth has been taken from there, and local tradition points to it as the place. The large old brick barn at Ingatestone Hall appears to have been built at the same time.

In November 1539 Barking Abbey was suppressed, and the Ingatestone property given in December of that year for a consideration, namely £849 12s. 6d., to Sir William Petre. About six months afterwards the Knights Hospitallers refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII, and all their property was confiscated to the Crown. Some of the Knights were put to death; some were imprisoned, and the rest found their way to Malta. Sir Richard Baker describes the event in the following manner:

‘This year also the Religion of Saint Johns in England, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was dissolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir William Weston Knight, Prior of Saint Johns,

¹ Compare those in the Guildhall Museum.

² The design is similar to that of some castle towers on the Rhine.

departed this life, for thought, (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order: for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands.'¹

There was an unsuccessful attempt to reinstate the Order in England in Mary's reign, and Richard Shelley of Stondon Massey was appointed Grand Master. In 1826 the Order of the St. John's Ambulance Association was instituted, and claimed to be something akin to the old Knights of St. John. This society has its head-quarters at Clerkenwell on the site of the Knights' former large establishment. The fifteenth-century gateway still remains at Clerkenwell, but the chief part of the building material was used in building Somerset House in the Strand. The Protector Somerset, when he was Earl of Hertford, had a great deal of the Knights' property given to him by his brother-in-law Henry VIII.² Among other properties he had Fryerning, or Ging Hospital, as it was called.³ Hertford did not keep it long, but sold it that same year to William Berners, on Aug. 2, 1543, who paid £2 16s. 8d. yearly rent to the king. The Berners were already possessed of Thoby Manor. The Berners⁴ were a very ancient Essex family. They had held Berners Roothing since the Conquest. Possibly the founder of the family was a 'berner' to the king—a 'berner' was one in charge of running hounds.⁵ A Sir James Berners was executed in 1388 for high treason; on the same day his wife gave birth to a daughter. This daughter, Juliana, was one of the first English authoresses. She wrote on hunting, fishing, and heraldry, she was also head of the nunnery of Sopewell, Hertfordshire.⁶ A Ralph Berners was one of the twelve knights appointed in Henry III's reign to make a perambulation of the royal forest of Essex.⁷ William Berners, who acquired the property in Ginge (afterwards called Fryerning), was a son of John Berners living at Sturgeons in Writtle parish; he was one of the king's auditors. His wife was Dorothy Hansard of Suffolk.⁸ Thoby Priory was given to

¹ Rich. Baker's *Chronicles of Kings of England*, p. 296.

² Appendix A. 5. ³ Pat. 34 Hen. VIII, p. 8. m. 3.

⁴ Appendix A. 6. ⁵ Bateson, *Med. Eng.* (Story of the Nations), p. 8.

⁶ Dugdale, *Monasticon*. ⁷ Fisher, *Forests of Essex*, p. 24.

⁸ Morant, p. 55.

him by Henry VIII, and he was known as William Berners of Thoby. His eldest son William inherited the estates, and died in 1558, leaving the property to his infant son Thomas¹ and his heirs male; in default of such it was to go to William's brother Thomas and his heirs; failing such, to his brother Leonard and his heirs, and failing such, to his brother Richard. A daughter named Griseld was born after William's death, which accounts for her not being mentioned in the will. The boy Thomas died in 1561 possessed of the 'Manor and advowson of Fryerning, 20 messuages, 3 granges, 4 mills, 5 woods, 20 cottages, 200 acres of arable land, 300 acres of meadow land, 400 of pasture, 400 of woods and under wood, and 40s. rent, with the appurtenances in Ing at stone, Gyng Fryerne and Ging Hospital'.²

Leonard, the younger brother of William, next came into the estate, so we may suppose that the elder Thomas died before his nephew. It is most likely that Leonard and his wife lived at Fryerning Hall. Possibly it was they who blocked up the old-fashioned mediaeval chimney in the South room, and put a new-fashioned chimney of the period in its place. A few years ago, when Fryerning Hall was being prepared for new tenants, an old open fireplace was discovered which had been blocked up with oak panels of linen-fold pattern of Henry VII's time; might not this panelling have been part of the screen of Fryerning Church? A wooden screen had replaced the stone one,³ we are told, and may have been taken away in 1561 when Rood lofts were ordered to be taken down, so Leonard found it handy for blocking up the chimney-place. Leonard Berners did not enjoy his possessions for long, as he died in 1563⁴ and his wife about the same time. They were buried in the south side of the chancel of Fryerning Church, and brasses were put over their tomb, fragments of which brasses are now in the vestry. They had three children, William, Anthony, and a daughter. Anthony seems to have been the heir. Perhaps his elder brother died before his father. There were now

¹ Wadham College documents.

² Inquis. Eliz. 3.

³ Bond, *Screens and Lofts*.

⁴ Inquis. Eliz. 5.

many Chancery proceedings concerning this property,¹ for Anthony was only a year and a month old at his father's death, and was a ward in Chancery—in the custody of Queen Elizabeth. Anthony came of age on Jan. 30, 1583, and the property was duly delivered into his hands. The deed is in the possession of Wadham College, signed by Sir W. Cecil, Lord Burleigh. The value of the property at this time was £37 1s. 5d. a year. Anthony Berners married the great heiress Mary Gedge,² daughter of James Gedge³ of Newland Hall, Roxwell, and Shenfield Manor, Margaretting. This lady was probably Anthony's cousin, and was a widow with four children,⁴ and more than twenty years older than he. She was born in 1541 and her first husband was Christopher Harris, who died in 1571⁵; she then married young Anthony Berners, who assigned her Fryerning and Thoby as her dower lands.² Anthony died while still quite young, and the Berners property seems to have passed to his infant son and his cousin Griseld as co-heirs.⁶ The boy was called Anthony after his father, and was perhaps brought up with Griseld's own boy of the same age, for his mother, the fascinating Mary Gedge, took unto herself a third husband, John Butler⁷ by name, by whom she had one daughter Sarah. Griseld Berners married Thomas Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent.⁸ It may have been Griseld and her husband who built the two hiding-places in Fryerning Hall, which are up the big kitchen chimney. Queen Elizabeth in 1585 commanded the banishment of all 'Jesuits, Seminary priests and all other wandering and massing priests', and a great search was made for them.⁹ Thomas Baker's father, a Privy Councillor during three reigns, had been among those who in Edward VI's reign had refused to sign against the succession of Mary,¹⁰ so probably the family was inclined to Roman Catholicism. Lady Petre was hiding

¹ *Proc. in Chanc.*, Queen Elizabeth.

² *Proc. in Chanc.*, Butler and Baker, B.b.31, 51, P.R.O.

³ Morant, vol. ii, pp. 53, 73, 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁶ *Proc. in Chanc.*, Butler and Baker, B.b. 31, 51, P.R.O.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Queen Elizabeth.

⁸ Morant, vol. ii, p. 56.

⁹ *Cal. State Papers*, 1585.

¹⁰ Rich. Baker, *Chron. of Kings of England*, pp. 311-25.

papists at Ingatestone Hall at this time.¹ She was connected with the Bakers, for her daughter by her former husband, Thomas Tyrell, married Thomas Baker's brother.² Difficulties arose concerning the dower lands, which Griseld did not consider Dame Mary ought to retain now that she had married again; a lawsuit ensued which was celebrated as the great Butler and Baker case. Griseld seems to have left the neighbourhood, and Anthony and his mother and stepfather sold Fryerning to the tenant in April 1588, but they got it back again in June. Thos. Shawe, the tenant,³ may have lived at Fryerning Hall at this time.

Griseld Baker died in 1589,⁴ leaving a son called Richard, 11 years of age. Thomas Baker seems to have married again, for in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1591, is a letter from Thos. Baker to a friend who has evidently been commissioned to get some things for him: 'I perceive you are mindful of my wife's hat, she cannot take her journey to London without she has it.'

It would seem that when Anthony Berners came of age he did not keep to some agreement concerning Thoby and Fryerning Manors, for there was a lawsuit about this between him and Thomas Baker. In 1607 Anthony Berners sold Fryerning to Sir Nicholas Wadham, but kept Thoby for his mother, who was living there in 1616. Anthony himself lived chiefly in London now, and was known as Anthony Berners of London.

Nicholas Wadham was of a Dorsetshire family and his seat was at Meresfield, Dorsetshire, where it is said that he was so hospitable that his house was like an inn at all times and a court at Christmas.⁵ He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Petre by his first wife.

Sir Nicholas seems to have purchased Fryerning partly for the benefit of his nephew Sir William Petre, son of Lord Petre of Writtle. More Hall, in Writtle, Sir Nicholas purchased for his wife's dower, and he and his lady lived there when they came to Essex. Ed. Herrys was steward of Fryerning Manor

¹ *Essex Review*, vol. xix, no. 73, p. 21. ² Morant, vol. i, p. 209.

³ Wadham College documents. ⁴ Inquis. Eliz. 34.

⁵ Sir F. Treves, *Dorsetshire*.

was steward of the manor for Wadham.⁶ The Fryerning property was left to Dorothy Wadham for life and at her death in 1619 was duly delivered over to the College, in whose possession a large part of Fryerning parish still remains.

¹ 'Feb. 22, 1611. Rate of the improvements of the Manors of Fryerning and More Hall Co. Essex purchased by Nich. Wadham deceased.' *Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series*, 1611 to 1618. ² *Ibid.*, 1610.

³ Wadham College documents. ⁴ Newcourt, *Essex Dioceses*.

⁵ Mr. Bamford (of Chelmsford), MS. Genealogy of Whetcombes.

⁶ Chelmsford Registers, 1654.

CHAPTER IV

GINGATTESTONE MONASTERY

IT is confusing to trace the owners of land at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the smaller monasteries were suppressed and the proceeds given by Wolsey to found his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, but on Wolsey's downfall his property fell into the king's hands, who presented or sold much of it to larger monasteries. When their turn came for suppression the land came back to the king, when perhaps he gave it to some one whom he wished to reward; this person, possibly not wanting land in the neighbourhood in which the gift was situated, immediately obtained leave to exchange it, often with an adjoining owner. This frequent change of owners is confusing anyway, but in the case of our parishes becomes more so, because of the names not having been definitely fixed. Ingatestone and Fryerning were both called Ging; also both manors were often called Ing-(or Ging)-at-stone.¹ The manor now known as Ingatestone was distinguished as Ging Abbess, as belonging to the Abbess of Barking, and the manor now known as Fryerning was called Ging Hospital, as belonging to the Knights Hospitallers; this manor was not known as Fryerning until Elizabeth's reign.²

The derivation of the name Fryerning usually given is that it comes from 'ing' a meadow or pasture, and was called Friars Ing from having been in the possession of the Knights Hospitallers;³ but I would suggest the following different explanation: That the Ing did not mean meadow in this case, but part of the large district of Ings or Gings dating from pre-Saxon times,⁴ and that the friars did not denote the Knights but some other friars in the neighbourhood, for I feel sure there were some monks here owning some of this Ging, and that it was this portion, probably round Furze Hall and St. Leonards,

¹ Appendix A. 7. Also Wadham College documents.

² Wadham College documents, and see Appendix A. 7.

³ Morant, vol. ii, p. 55. ⁴ See Chapter I.

which was called the Friars' Ging and which afterwards gave the name to all the parish. This opinion on the origin and meaning of the name Fryerning I have formed by considering the following facts.

As we have seen, six parishes in this part of Essex were called Ing or Ging, which probably dates from the Roman times when some tribe may have settled here peacefully under the Romans, cultivating the land and building themselves houses (and perhaps churches) with bricks made in the Roman way. During the Saxon and early Norman times no need arose to differentiate between these pieces of land more than to call them the ginge or possession of such an one; but later each separate parish had to have a distinguishing name, and this was given to the *whole* parish from the name previously given to some *part* of the parish. For instance, Mountney did not possess *all* the Ing now known as Mountneys-ing; *all* Ingatestone parish was not near the stone, and some of it was called Ging Abbess. Also Fryerning Manor, while it belonged to the Knights Hospitallers, was called Ging Hospital or Ing at stone, and *never* Friars Ging.

The first we hear of land called Friars-ing is in 1539, when Sir William Petre obtained the Manor of Ging Abbess (that is Ingatestone Manor), and he also obtained land in Inger-stone, Ginge ad Petrum, Mountneys-yng and *Fryer Inge*,¹ Essex, which had belonged to Barking.¹ This shows that before the dispersal of the Knights Hospitallers in 1540 some of the parish not belonging to them was called Fryer Inge, for the Knights were in possession of the church and property known as Ging Hospital till 1540. It would appear that at some time prior to 1540 a piece of land from Fryer Inge was given to or bought by Barking Abbey,² and when Barking was dissolved, the Hospitallers, the adjoining owners, probably bought Barking's piece of the Friars' Ing, and at the same time a little piece of Barking's original land; for in the grant

¹ Appendix A. 8.

² Thos. Parys had an annuity from Barking Abbey from lands in Ingatestone and Fryerning 1521-25. Court of Augmentations, 1521, P.R.O.

to the Earl of Hertford in 1543 we hear of the following property as having belonged to the Knights Hospitallers: 'The Manor of Ingatestone' (in this case meaning what we call Fryerning),¹ 'the advowson and rectory of Ging Hospital, in Ing-atte-stone, Ging Friern, Gyng Hospital and Gynge Abbess which belonged to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.' The 'Ging Friern' would be a part of the Ging formerly owned by the monastery in the neighbourhood; the 'Gyng Hospital' that part belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, and 'Gynge Abbess' the piece recently bought by the Knights from Barking along with the Ging Friern; the 'Gynge Abbess' would very possibly be the field near Fryerning Church now belonging to Fryerning Hall farm and called Barking Land, and perhaps the 'Gyng Friern' is the piece in the Beggar Hill road, including Bell Grove, north of Furze Hall, which now belongs to Wadham College. The following extract shows that the Knights Hospitallers were ready to buy land at this time: 'To the right worshipful Sir John Sutton treasurer of St. John's in England, Mortmain licence to acquire possessions to the annual value of £200. 1540.'²

We have already seen that the Knights did not possess all the parish. When Gilbert Montfichet gave some of it to the Knights he kept back part. Also in 1338 the Knights only possessed one house and a few acres of land here, though they held the advowson of the church. Also we must remember that they were not in residence here at all: Ginge was only one of the Camera.³ If my surmise is correct, and the 'Friars' do not refer to the Knights Hospitallers, who were these 'Friars' who possessed the other part of this Ginge and eventually gave their name to the whole?

It seems to me quite evident that there was a monastery in this neighbourhood called Ginge or Ging atte stone Priory, as mentioned by Speed the historian. This was no doubt situated in the north-west of Fryerning parish—the part which includes Beggar Hill, Furze Hall, and St. Leonards. This

¹ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. vi, N.S., p. 301. Appendix A. 5, and Wadham documents.

² *State Papers, Hen. VIII*, p. 308, 1540. ³ See Chapter III, p. 22.

monastery may probably have been attached to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy or some foreign abbey, and that would be one of the reasons why it is so difficult to find any records of it, as it would be suppressed in Henry V's time along with other alien monasteries. All the part of this parish which had belonged to Gingatestone Priory was called Friern ing, the possession of the Friars, but the other part of the parish was not so called till later. I give the following as a possible conjecture, which, although only conjecture, is all founded on documentary evidence.

When Gilbert Montfichet gave a part of Fryerning, known as Ginge, to the Knights Hospitallers he kept back the outlying woods called Westfrid,¹ probably the property of St. Leonards and Furze Hall, because his mother Margaret had founded a hermitage there, placing in it a monk to pray to St. Leonard for the release of her brother, Gilbert Clare, who was imprisoned for some years by King Stephen.² (St. Leonard was the patron saint of prisoners³; he lived in the middle of the sixth century (d. 559), as a hermit near Limoges. The French king granted release to any captive visited by St. Leonard, and in later times there was a widespread belief that if any prisoner called on the name of the saint his fetters would instantly break asunder. Prisoners, on their release, would hang up their fetters in a church dedicated to St. Leonard. The history of St. Leonard is depicted on the walls of St. Mark's, Venice, high up on the west of the choir.) It would seem that several relatives and friends of Gilbert Clare tried to effect his release from prison by means of securing the intercession of St. Leonard. Thoby Priory, dedicated to St. Leonard, was founded at this time, or at any rate enriched, by Michael de Capra and his wife Rohaise,⁴ who was, I believe, a daughter of Gilbert Clare.⁵ Galiena de Burgat, who gave some of Norton Mandeville to St. Leonards atte Bowe⁶ at this time, was certainly either a relation or friend of Gilbert Clare.⁷

¹ Appendix A. 1. ² Dugdale, *Baronage*; Hornby's *Letters*.

³ Newcourt, *London Dioceses*, p. 390.

⁴ Dugdale, vol. i, p. 553.

⁵ Morant, vol. ii, p. 437.

⁶ Newcourt, vol. ii, p. 440.

⁷ Cotton MS. Nero E. vi, f. 215, xv, s.

Buttsbury Church was given to St. Leonards atte Bowe at the same time, but it is not known who made the gift.¹

The piece of land kept by Gilbert Montfichet may have been called Westfrid from its being in the west of the parish, and from 'frid', sanctuary, it having been the site of some ancient holy place, and so chosen by Margaret for her hermitage. 'Frid'² or 'frith' has the same meaning as peace or sanctuary. No man might be arrested on land which was held to be frid. Once a shoemaker was arrested for homicide while on the sacred ground of the monastic shoe factory at Waverley, and the cry was raised by the monks: 'Our places are as free as altars.' No one might be taken in their abbeys or even on their farms.

On Gilbert Clare's release the hermitage would no doubt grow into a larger monastery, as was so often the case with these hermitages, and the additional dedication of St. Margaret, patron saint of Margaret Montfichet, would be given. It is possible that soon after, Gingattestone Priory was given over by one of our Montfichets to one of the numerous abbeys of Normandy, possibly the Abbey of Bec, which was in the neighbourhood from which both the Montfichets and the Clares had come, and the latter are known to have given largely to the abbey. The Montfichets were keepers of the Forest of Montficquet, which is close to Bec, as well as keepers of the Essex Forest. When the Abbot of Bec came to look after the property of the abbey in England, he stayed at the palace at Streatham belonging to Bec.³ Three of our Archbishops of Canterbury were formerly monks at Bec; these were Lanfranc, Anselm, and Theobald.

The alien monasteries were suppressed in 1414, so it may be 500 years since the Gingattestone Priory came to an end. No wonder that we see so little trace of it now! The land of Friern or Ging Friars would be divided up at the suppression of the priory and given to other religious houses.⁴ Barking Abbey would probably now have that piece which we know

¹ Morant, vol. ii, p. 50.

² Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, Anglo-Sax. 'peace, asylum; later frith, wood'.

³ Morant, vol. ii, p. 520.

⁴ Dugdale, vol. i, p. 1035.

it possessed in 1521, and a small part of the priory land would be given to the de Veres, Earls of Oxford, as heirs of the original owners; for it was usual to give a small piece of the land of a dissolved monastery to such heirs. This piece may have been where the chapel stood, and it was held by the family of Olmstead, members of which for many generations held the post of Master of the Horse to the Earls of Oxford. In 1586 a piece of land was held in Fryerning by Thos. Olmstead at 12*d.* a year, described as 'Chappell Yard'.¹ Morant remarks, 'but what chapel had stood there we cannot find'. In the Record Office we find a record of a lawsuit in 1589,² 'plaintiff William Palmer, defendant Roger Parkinson and John Waddell for relief against a bond executed by plaintiff to defendant Parkinson for the purchase of a messuage and ground in Fryerning, and also in respect of a lease in Buttsbury'. I am rather inclined to think the land referred to here was that which Barking had had, as the family of Palmer had held other Barking property.

The rest of Friern at the time of the dissolution of alien monasteries may have been given to another religious house, St. Leonards atte Bowe for instance, or very possibly to Clerkenwell nunnery,³ which had been founded in Henry I's time by Jordan de Briset, the founder of the Priory of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, whose daughter had married a Mountney.⁴ This nunnery held land in Mountnessing from very early times. Some of the Gingattestone Priory may have been given to John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who had much land given to him about 1417. What gives some colour to this surmise is that Hamo de Chiver in 1432⁵ held land in Ging Mountney and *Gedyng* of the Duke of Norfolk. This Gedyng may be another way of designating the Friern Ing, part of which we know was

¹ Inquis. Eliz. 29. Holman says he held it of the Queen; the de Veres parted with much of their property between 1562 and 1588. Morant, vol. ii, p. 293.

² *Chan. Proc. P.*, p. 16, no. 51.

³ I have heard a tradition that at one time St. Leonards was a convalescent home for nuns.

⁴ Dugdale, vol. iv, p. 79, note.

⁵ Inquis. 11 Henry VI. Also compare Inquis. 22 Ric. II.

called Gads ing or Gads end. Frierne ing was sometimes written Friars end.¹

However it may have come about, the Frierne St. Leonards was attached to Mountnessing Manor by 1551.²

Two of the historians on whom we rely to a great extent for our information about monasteries mention documents relating to a Ginge or Gingatstone Priory. One of these historians, Dugdale, says this was probably a mistake for Mountnessing, and that Gingatstone Priory probably meant Thoby Priory. Yet nowhere has Mountnessing parish been called Gingatstone, though Fryerning was so called.³ The other historian, Speed, mentions Gingatstone Priory as quite distinct from Thoby, and gives further particulars.⁴

Whether Dugdale was right in considering this referred to Thoby Priory, or Speed in thinking it quite distinct, the fact remains that there did exist at some time a record or records of a priory called Gingatstone. Dugdale made the mistake of supposing that Tilty Abbey and Bicnacre Priory, in Woodham Ferrers, were one and the same, so he may very possibly be mistaken also in this other case. One can easily see how Dugdale would suppose that the Gingatstone monastery records referred to Thoby, for both priories were in parishes called Ginge; both were dedicated to St. Leonard; and for a short time in 1563 the property of St. Leonards, Friern Ing, was included in Thoby Manor.⁵ Speed says of Gingatstone Priory: 'Founder unknown, Order Black Canons.' He also gives the dedication as being to St. Margaret; very probably it would be dedicated to both St. Leonard and St. Margaret. Thoby was dedicated to St. Leonard and St. Mary, yet Speed only mentions St. Mary. Even if it were not dissolved earlier it would be counted among the smaller monasteries which were suppressed by a bill passed in 1536.⁶ There was

¹ Chelmsford Registers.

² Documents concerning Thoby Manor. Private collection.

³ Appendix A. 7. Wadham College documents.

⁴ Speed, *Hist. of England*, p. 814.

⁵ Alfred Suckling, *Memorials of the Antiquities of the County of Essex*. This St. Leonards property was not a manor, which perhaps makes records of it fewer.

⁶ Morant, vol. ii, p. 407.

also a Bull issued by Pope Clement in 1528 to suppress monasteries having fewer than twelve monks or nuns, and ordering that they should be united to larger monasteries.¹

It is strange that we have no other record of the priory now obtainable, but of course the records may have been lost. The commissioner to inquire into the state and value of the monasteries in Essex in Henry VIII's time was Thomas Leigh, assisted by Ap-Rice. We have a few references to this visitation, but the reports of the commissioner have entirely disappeared.²

Stow in his *Survey of London* mentions some three or four alien priories in London, and then says: 'besides others that are now worn out of memory and where of there is no monument remaining'.³ Gingattestone Priory is another instance of the forgotten past.

The following are some of my reasons for supposing that the St. Leonards and Furze Hall property was monastic land, belonging neither to the Knights Hospitallers nor to Thoby Priory:

I. St. Leonards was *not* belonging to the *manor* we now call Fryerning till after 1563, and the manor was not known as Fryerning till the Berners possessed it and St. Leonards.

II. Before 1521, that is *before* the dispersal of the Knights, Barking Abbey acquired some property in what we now call Fryerning parish called Frierne land.⁴ The Knights were not likely to part with any of their property just then, and buy it back in a few months.

III. In 1525, at the time of the dissolution of Thoby Priory, St. Leonards did *not* belong to Thoby, though the field near by called Panmede (now Pan field) did; this Panmede is described as being bounded on the east by land called Leonards land.⁵ Pan field was added to St. Leonards by Capt. Kortright after 1842.⁶

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII*, 1528, p. 2137, P.R.O.

² *Vict. Hist. Essex*, vol. ii, p. 91.

³ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 67.

⁴ Court of Augmentation, Parys Annuity, 1521, P.R.O.

⁵ Alfred Suckling, *Memorials and Antiquities of the County of Essex*.

⁶ Mr. Osborn, of St. Leonards Farm, 1912.

IV. In 1550 'Leonards land, Beaugrants and Skinners' belonged to Wil. Wilford of Mountnessing Manor,¹ but was leased to the Berners.

V. By 1563 the Berners had procured possession of Mountnessing Manor, which they joined to Thoby Manor; and in an account of the extent of Thoby Manor² at this time there is mentioned 140 acres of land in Frierne ing, which it seems reasonable to suppose alludes to the St. Leonards and Furze Hall property, which consists of about that amount of acreage. Frierne Wood, 100 acres, is also mentioned as belonging to the Thoby and Mountnessing Manor. This wood is still called Fryerning Wood, and still includes nearly 100 acres.

VI. Lastly, it does not seem possible for Speed³ to have *imagined* all the particulars which he gives of the distinct Priory of Gingattestone.⁴

The indications of monastic occupation, although slight, are sufficient to suggest that the west part of the parish was the site of this priory. There is in the grounds of St. Leonards a mound still containing quantities of flint and pudding-stone and other stones and bricks; the large rockery near has been made with stones from this mound, and the present gardener says he superintended the making of the rockery himself from the stones found there. Some of the stones have dowel marks on them, showing that they have been used for building. In an orchard near by there are signs of old foundations; there is plenty of water and an old well, and what was probably a mill-dam not far off. There is an old oak door of ecclesiastical design now used in the engine house, and on the tithe map there is land here marked 'Orchard' and 'Garden'. The names Gads End Green⁵, Bell Grove⁶, Wood Grange⁷ also occur in this part of the parish, all suggestive of the presence of a monastery in olden days.

¹ Wadham College documents.

² Private documents relating to Thoby Manor.

³ Speed's *Hist. of Great Britain*, p. 1056.

⁴ Morant, vol. ii, p. 51, refers to a charter to the Hermit of Ginges. This may refer to Gingattestone, but I cannot find the charter.

⁵ C. Hornby's will.

⁶ Ordnance map.

⁷ Documents at Wadham College, Oxford.

The following names occur in documents as owners of parts of the St. Leonards and Furze Hall property at different times since the dissolution of monasteries :

Wil. Wilford	1539.
Ed. Elliot, tenant	1563, and Robjaunt holding Fryerning wood.
Olmstead	1586.
Wil. Cole?	1716, d. 1729.
Hornby	1732.
John Turner	1740.
Wil. Wootton	1750.
Eliz. Comyns	1756.

All these families held property in different parts of the county under the de Veres. The device of the de Veres was a blue boar. There was formerly an inn with this sign in Fryerning, which no doubt belonged at one time to the de Veres; possibly it was on the site of the house where the de Veres stayed when passing along this high road. The Olmsteads were an old Essex family, and most likely they went to America between 1620 and 1630 when so many Essex men went, for now all the Olmsteads mentioned in the Universal Biographical Dictionary in the Guildhall Library are Americans. The Wilfords, Elliots, Turners, Coles, and Woottons were all connected in some way with each other, either by marriage or by being joint owners of property or holding land in the same neighbourhood.¹ I have seen no document saying that Cole possessed land here, but imagine that he did, as some land here was called Coles in 1756.² Wil. Cole was Sheriff of Essex in 1716,³ as was John Turner later. Edward Elliot had married Joanne Gedge, sister to Mary Gedge.⁴

The suggestion that I have made of Gingattestone Priory having belonged to an alien monastery is founded on the close connexion of the Montfichets and Clares with Normandy; on the scarcity of records of the priory, which might be accounted for if it had belonged to a foreign abbey, for many alien monasteries possessed land in England of which all

¹ See Morant under these names.

² Court Rolls at Wadham College.

³ Morant, vol. i, p. 142.

⁴ Appendix A. 6.

record is lost; thirdly there are two other places, manors, in Essex called Frierne, and in one case the parish in which the 'Frierne' is situated (Dunton)¹ is known to have belonged to Bec; in the other case (in Newendon parish), the manor of Frierne was given to the Hospital of St. Mary's, Bishopsgate, in Henry V's time, which certainly looks as if it had belonged to an alien monastery suppressed in that reign.²

The family of Wilford may have come from Willesford in Lincolnshire, which place had a priory belonging to the Abbot of Bec.³

Up till this year the way-post on the road from Fryerning to Blackmore indicated 'St. Leonards $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Blackmore 3 miles. Ongar 8 miles', but when it was repainted last year 'St. Leonards' was omitted. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mr. Coesvelt bought the property of St. Leonards. It was then copyhold of Fryerning Manor but was enfranchised by the next owner, Mr. Kortright, son-in-law to Mr. Coesvelt.

It is curious that though very probably for centuries the members of a monastic community pursued their busy life in this neighbourhood, so few traces of their habitation remain. Yet much larger establishments have disappeared almost entirely. For instance, it is known that the Bishops of London had a palace at Orsett in this county, yet little now remains to mark the spot but a few grass mounds. Dean Spence, in writing about the Abbey of Evesham, says: 'The very foundation stones of the great abbey, massive and vast though they must have been, are hidden under the green meadows washed by the Avon.' Perhaps also the following words used by him concerning Evesham Abbey in the days of its prosperity may have been equally true of the monasteries near here—Blackmore, Bedemans Berg, Thoby, and Gingattestone: 'It was simply one of those monasteries in a purely rural district which during so many storm-filled years educated, comforted, helped in a thousand ways all classes and orders of the commonwealth.'

¹ Morant, vol. i, pp. 220, 221, 252. ² See page 33.

³ *History of the Royal Abbey of Bec*, by Dom John Bourget, published 1779; and Add. MS. 6164, vol. i (Alien Monasteries), B.M.

to Bedemans Berg,¹ and to Blackmore. This road was the haunt of beggars and gipsies down to recent times.

The monasteries of the Middle Ages performed the duties now carried out by our workhouses and hospitals. The nunneries also occupied the position held at the present day by the ladies' colleges; they undertook the education of many of the rich ladies in England, some of whom would stay on and become nuns. Amongst the nuns at Barking at the time of the dissolution were Margaret Bramston and Mary Tyrel, daughters of well-known Essex families.

Before the great changes which came over England in Henry VIII's reign, each community, whether monastery or village, manufactured its own goods to a very great extent. Spinning was undertaken by most women in their own houses, hence the term 'spinster'. Bachelor is said to be from *Baccalarius*, meaning the holder of a small farm.

The arable land in mediaeval times was divided into open fields, of which several generally lay together, being only separated by a balk of turf. Each field was divided into acre and half-acre strips.² Oxen were used for the ploughs at the time of the Conquest, eight oxen to a plough. The men on an estate had their own plough, but had also to give some of their time to ploughing the lord's land with his plough. With regard to meadow land, at Lammas, in the month of August, the temporary fence of dead wood was removed, and cattle allowed in. The right to cut wood for these fences from the king's forest was often given. The people worked for themselves most days, but had to give some of their time to their lord's land. There was a survey made of the manor of Barking in Edward II's reign, and some extracts from this give us an idea of the customs of these times.³

'Robert Gagnier holds one cot contains itself ten acres for xiid. And he shall make hay for the lord as often as need be until it shall be fully collected in the place where it must be stacked without food. And he shall find one man for the mill dam for one half days labour.'⁴

¹ *Essex Review*, July, 1909, p. 129.

² *Essex Review*, vol. xx, p. 68.

³ Sage MS., Stoke Newington Free Library.

⁴ There is the remains of an old mill dam at the back of the house called Ingatestone Grange.

And one man in the great harvest in autumn, reaping for food as above. And he shall collect stubble for one half day without food, And he shall gather nuts as above. And he owes suit at court and at the mill and if he should die he shall give nothing for heriot, but his son and heir shall make peace with the lord for his relief the best way he can.' . . . 'Be it known that all the aforesaid customers labourers as well great as small ought to keep guard and to watch robbers when they are in the lord's prison without food and it shall be accounted as labour . . . Likewise be it known that the lord can make overseer or beadle of whomsoever he will holding xx acres or 10 acres of land. And then he who shall be overseer if he holds xx acres shall be quit of all labour and customs due . . . and give 13 hens at Christmas.'

Another man 'shall gather nuts namely a measure full which is called pig bot of which 4 shall fill a bushel. And he shall make one long carriage of goods on foot as far as Ely or Glemesford and similar places once in the year, upon his back without food. And he shall make other trifling carriages according to.' . . &c. &c.

'And he shall give fines for his daughter when about to be married at the lord's will, if he should marry her beyond the town and if within then in like manner he shall make peace with the lord for the fine as well as he shall be able.'

These extracts concern cottars. Another method of holding land under the king was by what was called Sergeancy. The land was held subject to the performance of some service to the king, often a very quaint one ; for instance, the sergeancy of holding the king's head when he made a rough passage across the Channel ; pulling a rope when his vessel landed ; counting his chessmen on Christmas day ; bringing fuel to his castle ; nursing his hounds when gored or injured in the hunt. Fingrith Hall, Blackmore, was held by the sergeancy of keeping the door of the queen's chamber on the night of the Coronation.

No one who was not a free tenant might move from his native parish. In Edward III's reign, after the time of the Black Death, agricultural labourers were not allowed to journey from one place to another on pain of being imprisoned or branded ; and knights had to get permission to leave the kingdom, even so late as Henry VIII's time. For instance, '1536 Sir Thos. Dingley a brother of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England Licence to depart the realm to serve the duties of his religion, with 3 servants, 4 horses and bag-

gage.'¹ When Gilbert Clare (twelfth century) journeyed into Wales he was preceded by a minstrel and a singing man, who played and sang alternately. The signal for washing before a meal was given by the blowing of trumpets or by the music of the minstrels; as fingers had to be used this washing of hands was very important.

Hospitality was freely given to all comers both by monks and by private persons. It was customary to leave the house door always open by day as a sign of hospitality. Those travellers who had much news to tell were always especially welcome.

While the men of those early days were engaged in farming and hunting, the women were occupied in cooking and needlework. The English ladies were noted for their embroidery. One of the Ladies de Vere, Countess of Oxford, supported herself for a time by her needlework, when her husband was in disgrace during the Wars of the Roses.

Brick-making, which was almost a lost art in England after the Roman times, became general again in this country in the fifteenth century. Being such suitable earth for bricks in Essex, there were naturally a great many made in the county. There was a brick kiln a little beyond the 'Viper' on Mill Green, and one near Wood Barns. In 1908 an old brick and tile kiln was found in the woods, opposite to the big oak which stands by the bridle-path leading through to Highwood. Some brick earth is also suitable for rough pottery. In 1879 the site of an old pottery manufactory was discovered on Mill Green, near the farm and cottages called Potters Row. Pottery may have been made there from very early times, and perhaps till the fifteenth or sixteenth century or later. There are quantities of fragments of pots still strewn about the field and hedgerow at this spot. Fragments of similar pottery have been found recently at Rayleigh Castle, Essex, and at Butley in Suffolk, also in Boundary Ditch, Cambridge. They are described as 'pottery for common cooking purposes of the kind which was made for domestic use with little alteration for four centuries after Norman times'. The pieces first discovered

¹ *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, 1536.

here are described (*Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. xii. 3) as being of a reddish colour, and the pieces seemed to belong to jars or bowls of one shape. Some fragments were blackish in the middle, others red all through; one bright red and soft. The handles had lines of holes pierced in them. The illustration of pottery found at Rayleigh (*Arch. Trans.*, 1912, p. 100, plate G), might almost have been a photograph of pieces of this Mill Green pottery, it is so similar.

Glass was also made in small quantities in many parts of the kingdom, instead of, as now, being made by a few large firms only. There is a house in Maple Tree Lane called Glass House, and no doubt glass was made there formerly; plenty of charcoal could be obtained from the woods for the manufacture. In James I's time a patent was granted to nine persons (one a brother to Lady de Vere) to make glass with sea coal, for which patent these persons paid the king £1,000, and also £200 for their glass houses.¹ Later on a Sir Robert Mansell obtained a monopoly for glass making. His glass did not meet with general approval; there were many complaints that it was bad and that he charged too high a price for it.² In 1833 this Glass House in Maple Tree Lane was owned by Mrs. Christine Andrews, widow of the James Andrews who lived at Fryerning Hall for 48 years, and whose tombstone is in Fryerning churchyard.

Many private persons as well as innkeepers brewed their own beer; and the monks and most of the old farmhouses had their own brewhouse amongst the many outhouses. In 1637, when brewing was first coming into the hands of special brewers, seventy-one brewers of Essex lately licensed for brewing in Essex sent up a complaint to the king that 'they have erected convenient offices in most parts of this country, and yet the innkeepers and ale-house keepers who have been furnished with beer from the petitioners do now fall afresh to brewing their own beer.'³ The Ingatestone and Fryerning inns were so numerous at this time that their attitude in this matter would make a considerable difference to the brewers.

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Series*, 1623.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Series*, 1637.

There was yet another industry carried on by the monasteries, and that was tanning. Nearly every monastery had its tanyard. There was one, no doubt, where the house now stands called Tan House, on the right of Beggar Hill. There was another Tan House in this neighbourhood on the High Road, opposite Heybridge Farm. It is marked on the old maps as Tan Yard. The monks often made a good profit from this industry.

It was said that by degrees the monks turned into traders and farmers more than spiritual persons. They took their wool and hides to market, and drove hard bargains over their sales of stock. One of the reasons given for the suppression of the monasteries was that the monks competed with others in trade, and neglected the prayers for the saying of which they had been endowed. With all the faults of the monasteries there was also much good work done by them, and, to quote the words of a writer on the Middle Ages, 'in this lay something to sweeten the age, to dignify the humblest village, and to control the impulses of brute force.'¹

We have tried to penetrate the mists which envelop the past history of our two villages, and though we cannot see very distinctly, enough facts are revealed to give us some idea of how much these villages were in touch with the great people of our land. Of course the High Road saw most of the life, but I have not mentioned that, as it will be dwelt on fully in the ensuing chapters.

¹ Miss Bateson's *Med. England*.

PART II

THE PARISHES

‘ It has been observed that “ Every dweller in a rural district would find the sum of his intellectual pleasures singularly increased if he could form the habit of recollecting that he is surrounded by the elements of history, —that he lives amidst the relics of many successive races, and the products of many varied modes of social development.” The means of doing this it is the object of the *People's History of Essex* to supply, and at a price that shall allow no one to justly plead ignorance of the county in which he lives.’

Prospectus of the *People's History of Essex*, issued February 1858 by D. W. Collier (of Ingatestone).

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCHES AND WORSHIP

This is none other but the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven.

‘Our villages are but a collection of houses, gathering round their church. The great memorial of every place is its church. What is it that makes a village? It is the beauty, the dignity, the appealing splendour of the House of God round which it gathers, and which seems to protect it and keep it under its care. The parish churches of England are the greatest and most noble memorials of the past.’—BISHOP CREIGHTON.

NO one can say when the first church was built in either Ingatestone or Fryerning. The number of Roman bricks used in Fryerning Church may point to there having been one on that spot in the Roman days, but if so it would have fallen into ruin on their departure, and for many centuries there would have been no Christian worship here. But as Christianity once more spread over the land it is likely that some building was erected, though not at first the substantial one that still remains at the top of the hill, with its walls as strong as the day they were built. With no native stone at hand, but plenty of timber, a small wooden church, such as the one still remaining at Greenstead, is all that our Saxon ancestors could have built.

But the Normans, straight from the land of quarries and stone churches, were not content with anything so destructible as timber; moreover, they wanted a building not only for worship but also for defence. Those solid walls of Fryerning, with the original tiny slits of windows fourteen feet above the ground, were never built only for the worship and glory of God, but quite as much for the defence of man against man. The Norman lord living amongst hostile Saxon serfs needed some place of refuge in case of attack, and stone and lime and skilled labour were too scarce for it to be possible to do much

building, therefore our Norman builder satisfied himself with erecting one solid building, with walls of the flints and pudding-stone found in his fields and gravel-pits, and with quoins of the thin Roman bricks that he found in the neighbourhood in such profusion; in the walls he left tiny slits for high windows, such as the blocked one still remaining in the north wall, and a door, probably much smaller than the present one; instead of the modern tiles he used reeds to thatch his roof¹—and so had a building that would serve as a castle in time of war, and a church in days of peace. As the country gradually quieted down, masons and stones were fetched from Normandy by water, the windows were made a little wider and as we see them to-day, and the north and south doors opened out and faced with stone.

And not only at Fryerning did the Normans build a church. The restoration of Ingatestone Church in 1867 brought to light the old Norman north wall, but the church has undergone so many changes that we have no means of picturing it in its earliest days. The dedication of Ingatestone Church to St. Edmund, king and martyr, points to the earliest church being erected soon after his canonization in 960. The church is sometimes described as being dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin,² but it would certainly appear that the earliest dedication was to St. Edmund, for Morant says that the fair-day was November 20th, St. Edmund's Day, and it is commonly found that the fair-day of any place was held upon the feast-day of its patron saint. But the Barking monastery being so paramount in the parish, the monks added St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Edmund appears almost to have been forgotten; later on, the fair-day was changed to November 30th, and finally to December 1st, and the name of Edmund is frequently omitted in describing the church. Yet he was well remembered in the sixteenth century, for William Fuller, who died in 1538, directed his body to be buried in the Church of St. Edmund of Gyngabbess.

¹ Our neighbour, Little Laver, was contented with a thatched roof until 1847.

² It is possible that the original dedication may have been St. Mary, as the Barking people were here before the death of Edmund.

If any stained glass window is added in the future this very local saint may surely plead for his claims to be considered. Coming to the throne when he was only fifteen, Edmund made the peace and happiness of his people his great concern. When he had reigned fifteen years his country was invaded by the heathen Danes. He seems to have been more of a saint than a soldier, for finding his soldiers were too few to defeat the enemy he disbanded them, 'being unwilling to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers in vain, and grieving for the eternal loss of the souls of his enemies who would be slain in a fruitless engagement. Shortly afterwards he was taken prisoner, and the Danes offered him terms which he considered prejudicial to the welfare of religion and to his people.' He was then tied to a tree and cruelly scourged. 'All this he bore with invincible meekness and patience, never ceasing to call upon the name of Jesus. The infidels were the more incensed, and shot at him with arrows, until Hinguar commanded his head to be struck off' (870). His burial-place was Bury St. Edmunds. 'The father of the poor, the protector of widows and orphans, and the support of the weak,'¹ he is surely a fitting patron for our church.

Before we go into details about the churches, it may be interesting to sketch very briefly the changes that have passed over them in appearance and in services.

The old Norman church would be plainly furnished, with no chairs or seats, an altar at the east-end, probably no font for the first years, nor any pulpit, and with rushes strewn upon the floor that would be renewed once or twice a year. The service would be in Latin, probably understood by the Norman conquerors, but not by their Saxon serfs; the sermons would have been very few, and generally in Latin, and not often by the parish priest. As the years passed, font and pulpit were provided; little altars were placed each side of the chancel arch of Fryerning, with figures of saints over them, the piscina for one of them still remains. More sermons were preached, and many confessions heard, not by the Rector, but often

¹ Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.

against his wish by the wandering friars, of whom Chaucer paints so unpleasing a picture :

A Frere there was, a wanton and a merry ; . . .
Full sweetly heard he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution.
He was an easie man to give penaunce : . . .
Therefore in stede of weeping and prayeres,
Men might give silver to the poor freres.

And of the Pardoner, with relics of pig's bones, and a bit of
'the sail that Saint Peter had when that he went upon the sea':

He was in Church a noble Ecclesiast ;
Well couth he rede a lesson or a storie,
But alderbest he sang an offertorie ;
Full well he wist, when that song was song,
He must preach, and well affyle his tong,
To winne silver, as he full well coud :
Therefore he song so merily and loud.

What our own parish clergy were like in those early days we cannot say, but let us hope many of them were after the fashion of Chaucer's Parson—who

dwelt at home, and kept well his folde,
So that the Wolfe made it not miscary ;
He was a Shepherd, and no mercenarie, . . .
But in his teaching discrete and benigne.
To drawen folke to heaven by fairnesse,
By good ensample, was his businesse.

On the parish fair-day—Whit Wednesday at Fryerning and November 20th at Ingatestone—the nave of the church would be open for traffic and barter, for only after the Reformation did this practice cease. A screen also was erected between chancel and nave, to prevent the sanctuary being used for secular purposes ; and upon the top of it was placed the Rood (Christ upon the Cross), with St. Mary and St. John on either side.¹ On many of these screens was placed an altar, but we have no knowledge whether that was the case in either of our churches, neither can we say for certain whether the Gospel

¹ Doddinghurst Church possesses Rood and figures, but they were erected within the last thirty years by a previous Rector—not altogether to the pleasure of the parishioners. Mr. Stewart bought them on the Continent, but there is no record of what place.

INGATESTONE CHURCH, SHOWING ENTRANCE TO ROOD-LOFT

was read from the Rood-loft on Easter Day, as was the custom in many places ; the substantial staircases to both our Rood-lofts points to their being used for one purpose or the other. Curtains and rod were also provided, for the Rood was veiled from Good Friday to Easter. And all this time the service was in Latin, and not in the vulgar tongue understood of the people. The larger windows had been opened to let in the light of the sun, but the teaching was still in darkness.

A movement of unrest was seizing the people : the translation of the Bible by Wycliffe, and later by William Tyndale, made the study of the Scripture possible to some to whom it had previously been a sealed book ; and the reign of Henry VIII found many in our parishes longing for a more primitive form of worship, in a language they could understand. Then came the direction that every church should possess a copy of the Bible in English, not only for the priest to read from at service-time, but also for the laity to read in their leisure hours, for books were then very expensive, and a copy of the New Testament cost more than a load of hay. So keen was the desire to have the book to study at home it was found necessary to order the Bible to be chained in the churches, and both our churches must have had these chained books, though they have long since disappeared. Only three years had passed since Tyndale had been burnt at Brussels for translating and circulating the Bible, and now in 1537 a Bible that was virtually his work was placed in every church. At the same time the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were recited in English. Lessons from the Bible were read and explained, the Rood and attendant figures were taken down, and the prayers to the Saints and the Virgin largely omitted.

But Henry and Edward died, and Mary came to the throne, her strong leaning to the Papacy was increased by her marriage with that gloomy fanatic, Philip II of Spain ; and during her reign the Bibles were closed, the images were brought back into the churches, and many people in neighbouring parishes suffered for the truth's sake. But I can find no record of any from our own parishes amongst the martyrs, though George Eagles (*Trudgeover*) of Chelmsford must often

have been through here. But the astute Sir William Petre at Ingatestone Hall succeeded in keeping on good terms with his new sovereign, and his neighbours seem to have followed his lead.

Mary's short reign ended, the Rood and images were again ordered out of our churches, the Bibles were brought back, the Prayer-book in English settled much as we know it to-day, and Mass said in Latin was forbidden. In each church now there was only the one movable Altar at the east, in place of the previous fixed stone ones, and seats were probably provided, if not already in use.

And in Elizabeth's reign came our Ingatestone martyr—not on the Protestant side, like young Hunter at Brentwood; but old Lady Petre's priest, John Payne, who for continuing to say Mass at the Hall, and for being implicated in plots to restore the old form of religion, and to dethrone Queen Elizabeth, met his death at Chelmsford, where he was executed in 1582.

In these Tudor times singing was as common in English churches as it is to-day. A Frenchman travelling here in 1558 thus writes: 'All the English are joyous and greatly love music; there is no church, however small, where they do not have music and sing.'¹ Any one who has been much in French and Italian churches will recognize the fact that the English Church still excels her neighbours in congregational and cathedral music, and love of hymns in which all can join.

With the Commonwealth there were again alterations; the use of the Prayer-book was forbidden, and the fonts were ordered to be cast out of the churches; but I do not think our beautiful Fryerning one can have been thrown out; or if it was, some faithful soul must have given it shelter until the tyranny was overpast. The Rector of Fryerning was gone, and the 'intruder', William Beard, does not seem to have been a faithful minister, for he was soon dispossessed by Samuel Smith, a godly preacher. The Commonwealth days

¹ Estienne Perlin, *Description d'Angleterre*, 1558: 'Les Angloys les uns avec les autres sont joyeux et aymēt fort la musique; car ne scauroit estre si petite esglise en laquelle on ne chante de musique.'

passed and the Prayer-book was brought back, and the service arranged almost as we know it to-day. No hymn-book was used for many years, until Tate and Brady's metrical versions of the Psalms and hymns were published about 1698; it must have been these Psalms that George Hilliard so successfully taught the Fryerning children in Rector D'Oyley's time.

Those were the days when the parish clerk was in his glory, and for nearly one hundred and fifty years the Cable family held that honourable office at Fryerning, and led the responses of the parishioners. It is quite possible that those responses were sometimes only the Litany and Lesser Litany, and that the Psalms were not read by alternate verses with the minister.

'For the most part the *Psalms* are recited alternately in those Churches only, where it may be reasonably presumed that the whole Congregation can read, very few excepted. This way of reading the Psalms is not commanded, but every Parish-Church is left at liberty to observe her own custom about it. In the Country Parishes the Minister generally recites all, which way I do not think so convenient as the Responsals.'¹

Very possibly Fryerning was one of the non-responsal churches, for the congregation cannot have been very literary when even the parish clerk, Richard Cable (d. 1769), could not write, but signs the register 'Rich Cable his mark x'.

The following extracts are from the Fryerning register :

1735. George Cavel, Clerk, senr.	buried Feb. 1735
1735-1769. Richard Cable, Clerk of this Parish	1 April 1769
1769-1803. John Cable, aged 69	1803
1803-1836. John Cable	1836

Another Cable was church clerk until 1862, when he was succeeded by Mr. Thompson, who resigned the office many years ago, but is still alive (1913). The salary during the first half of the nineteenth century was £3 16s; raised later to £5 a year.

Ingatestone, with its better-kept register, can trace its parish clerks one hundred and forty years further back than Fryerning, i. e. the list dates back to Charles I's time. There seems

¹ *Cases for Dissenters*, Dr. Clagett, 1698, p. 291.

to be a gap between Stephen Perry and old Thomas Packman.

Burials of parish clerks:

1629. Robert Clerke, Clerke of y^e parishe.

John Tublin als Douglas. Clarke Aug y^e 12th 1638.

John Baker and his son in law Richard Jones ¹	} Clarkes of ye parish	was buried March 24 1652
		was buried Feb. 10 1664

Richard Jones¹) ye parish (was buried feb. 10 1664

William Clerk Parish Clerk was buried June y^e 11th 1691
Bayley December 28 1696.

Bayley December 28 1696.

Later on :

1696. William Clarke, Clark of ye Parish.

1698. Thomas Platt, Parish-Clark.

1708 June 3rd Thomas Clarke, Parish Clerke, died June 1st.

1748. Nov. 27 Stepen Perry. He was Parish Clerk 33 years.

1783. March 23 Thomas Packman was buried aet. 80. He was Parish Clerk 18 years and did officiate till within a few days before his death.

N.B.—The Rev^d Mr. Lewis Rector of this Parish appointed next day his Successor the present Parish Clerk Joseph Trigg.

1804. Joseph Trigg was buried.

Tublin, 1638, is also described as sexton. Joseph Poole was parish clerk in the time of Rector Parkin, and William Asher, sexton.

During all these early days the parishes were in the huge diocese of London, and the connexion was only severed in 1845.

The mention of clerks and sextons reminds us of the many dead whose bodies lie within the walls of our churches; the Ingatestone register is full of notices of such interments from early in the seventeenth century onwards; the whole church must have been honeycombed with graves: and though the Fryerning register mentions but few, and those only in the chancel, it is certain that many were buried in the nave. I am told that at the restoration of Fryerning Church the vaults in the chancel were filled up, with the exception of that under the altar, in which Rector Stubbs was buried, and possibly also some of the earlier rectors who died here.

And clerks also recall Briefs, an old word that still remains

¹ Inserted here : Spelt Johns when entered in 1664.

in our Prayer-book Communion Service: 'then shall be, Briefs, Citations and Excommunications read'. These were letters patent from the king authorizing collections of money for any public or private purpose. A very few churches have kept a note of these, but nothing of them remains with us of any alms our churches were asked to give; but the Briefs of Hackney Church, now in the Guildhall Library (MS. 479), record that on 20th July, 1631, a collection was made there for Robert Wallett of Fryerning in the County of Essex, which amounted to nineteen shillings. Who he was, or why he wanted the money, I have not been able to discover.

In old days the music was led by flute, violin, &c., but these had been ousted long before the middle of the nineteenth century; and when Rector Parkin came in 1860 a barrel-organ controlled the singing at Ingatestone. Margaretting, I fancy, was one of the last to give up the good old band. The late Rev. M. Barnard, in his interesting sketch of that parish, tells how, a few years previous to his arrival in 1850, an orchestra had sat in the gallery with flute, 'clarionette', violin, bassoon, &c., &c., and quotes a local poet, Samuel Rogers,¹ who thus describes the music:

The prayers are done, the psalm gave out,
The Clerk, with loud stentorian shout,
Exclaims aloud with heart and voice—
'Rejoice, the Lord is King, rejoice!'
Then all begin with sweet accord
To sing, extol, and praise the Lord.
'Twas then my artless soul's delight—
I could have stayed from morn till night
In silent adoration mute—
To hear the clarionette and flute.
Yes, that old Church I e'er shall love
E'en for the sake of tuneful 'Dove',
Whose skill in music was supreme
Whene'er he touched a sacred theme.
But doubly sweet was 'Whichcord's' flute
When he preferred his sacred suit;
And who could 'Earee's' skill surpass
When his hand swept the trembling bass?

Mr. Dove lived at Bearmans and played the clarionette, and

¹ *My Native Bells*, published c. 1850.

Mr. Earee was a Margaretting man. As Mr. Whichcord was postmaster at Ingatestone, and lies buried in Fryerning Churchyard, we may safely infer that the barrel-organs which both churches possessed were in use before his death in 1838, or surely the sweet flute of Whichcord would have remained in Ingatestone to gladden the ears of our village congregation. Miss Parkin well remembers some of the tunes of the Ingatestone barrel, and the old clerk, Joseph Poole, as he progressed to the gallery to turn the handle, and waited to say 'Amen' at the foot of the stairs. Here are some of the tunes: to begin with, the grand 'Old Hundredth' (would that we had it instead of some of the modern flashy tunes and hymns), 'Bedford', 'Martyrdom', 'The Easter Hymn', 'The Christmas Hymn' (*Adeste fideles*), 'Hark! the herald Angels', 'While Shepherds watched'. There were also many others, and Miss Parkin writes: 'We, as children, thought it quite a treat to have a hymn instead of a psalm.'

Fryerning barrel-organ was built by Flight & Robson for a sum of £75 12s., apparently in 1826, as the first page of the Churchwardens' account-book commencing that year has a memorandum of the cost and builder, and the fact that it was paid for by voluntary subscription. As those were the old days of compulsory church rate, it could not perhaps have been paid for out of the Churchwardens' ordinary funds. It remained in use as a barrel-organ until 1870, the first 'organist' being Lynn at a salary of £1 a year; he was succeeded by Witham at £1 1s.; and he again by John Sorrel, who was raised to £2; but in 1870 the old organ was rebuilt by Rust of Chelmsford, and made into a manual, at a cost of £50. The old instrument then demanded a more skilled if less powerful organist, and was apparently played by a voluntary official, as no organist appears in the accounts—only a blower.

During the eighteenth century, the Communion was usually only administered four times a year; and Ingatestone may well be proud that she is recorded by the Bishop's secretary as having it twelve times a year,¹ being almost the only church in the Archdeaconry that had it so often. From an entry in

¹ Guildhall MS. 481.

the register we learn that Sacrament Sunday was the last Sunday of the month. At Fryerning it was only held four times a year, which was the usual custom. The two flagons presented anonymously to Ingatestone in 1726 (p. 78) recall the practice in those days of each communicant taking much more than the mere sip that is the custom to-day. A whole bottle would be used at a service, and if any were left over it would be consumed in the vestry.

It was in Rector D'Oyley's time that the present Communion plate at Fryerning was acquired—in 1700 and 1716; the flagon being the gift of the Rector.

It was probably some time in the eighteenth century that the galleries were placed in both towers, and three-deckers in both churches, and the high pews erected that remained until 1867 and 1870.

Miss Parkin, daughter of a previous Rector, sends me the following interesting description of Ingatestone :

‘In 1860, when we came to Ingatestone, the interior of the church was covered with whitewash : there was no trace of the brick arch at the west end, and there was a large gallery in which was a barrel-organ. In the present position of the pulpit was placed a ‘three decker’ in dark wood. Joseph Poole, the parish clerk, combined the offices of responding and walking up to the gallery before the singing of the hymn. Tate and Brady was used. In 1862 a small organ was purchased and placed in the gallery. The south mortuary chapel belonging to the Petre family was railed off by high iron railings. My father asked Lord Petre whether these railings might be removed and the chapel used for service. Lord Petre was most courteous and kind, and gave permission that this should be done, on condition that reasonable care should be taken of the monuments and that no fixed sittings should be erected. I remember as a child going down into the spacious vaults under this chapel, and seeing coffins on ledges on either side. The vault was at that time permanently closed. At the restoration the galleries were taken down and the tower thrown into the church.

My sister reminds me that the floor fell in in the north mortuary chapel, and part of a monk's cowl and some hair was found.’

Miss Parkin also tells of the great Hyde pew on the north side of the nave below the pulpit ; seven feet high, it towered above its neighbours, for was not its owner, Squire Disney, six feet ?—and the pew must be in proportion.

Old Mrs. March, of Beggar Hill, lately passed to her rest, has told me how as a child she attended Sunday service at Fryerning, sitting in the gallery with the other children, the girls in white tippets, and the stern old schoolmistress and Mr. Dawson dragooning them; and how they brought their dinner with them and ate it in the gallery between morning and afternoon service.

The galleries are gone, and the three-deckers, and the old barrel-organs, and all the old people who put them there, and many of those who took them away; but the solid walls and the towers remain, and still week by week the bells call the faithful to the ancient buildings, and the voice of prayer and praise ascends to Heaven to-day, even as it has ceaselessly done for so many generations.

E. H. N. W.

FRYERNING CHURCH

CHAPTER II

FRYERNING CHURCH

‘ These fabrics are messengers of spiritual truth, perpetually set before the eyes of men.’—BISHOP CREIGHTON.

THIS small and ancient church undoubtedly dates from early Norman days, and the quantity of Roman bricks used in its construction would almost point to an earlier church on the same spot, built by the Romans, destroyed and left in ruins after their departure, but chosen again for the site of a church by the Normans, partly from its commanding position, partly from the quantity of building material that they found to hand.

It was evidently built not only for purposes of worship, but also as a fortress, as were so many of the early churches, built when the Norman masters were living surrounded by hostile Saxon serfs. There is evidence for this in the narrowness and elevation of the four remaining lancet windows of the nave, with sills fourteen feet above the present floor, and originally no wider than the very narrow one over the north door now blocked up, but still possessing its Roman brick sides. Springfield Church has an almost identical window, with Roman brick sides over the north door.

The church consists of early Norman nave, the chancel possibly a little later, and Henry VI tower.¹

The walls of the nave are about three feet thick, and built of pudding-stone, flints, pebbles, and Roman bricks, laid in rough bands. All the quoins of nave and chancel are entirely built of Roman bricks, and the gable of the east end is also filled with them.

The nave was probably built first, with three narrow lancets

¹ For the greater part of the following particulars of Fryerning and Ingatestone Churches, see G. Buckler, *Twenty-two Churches of Essex*; Miller Christy, *Handbook for Essex*; *Chelmsford Chronicle*, June 10, 1870, June 18, 1869.

on each side, and the chancel added shortly after, for the banding and material are the same in both. There is no trace of any windows in the chancel wall, other than those now existing, and I would suggest that originally it only had lancets at the east end. When times were more peaceful one window on the north side and two on the south were opened, and the triple-light east window was put in.

The large south window of the nave and its smaller and rather different companion in the north wall probably date from Henry VI's time. Four of the narrow splayed Norman windows still remain, three on the south side and the other on the north. The nave has north and south doors similar to each other, two perfectly plain semi-circular arches, one within the other; the north now leads only into the vestry. The lofty wide springing chancel arch dates from the end of the fifteenth century. Attached to it was a Rood-screen, of which fragments of the buttress that supported it remained on the south side at the time of Buckler's visit, but he describes it as devoid of detail or any particular interest. The staircase that led to it still exists, cut out of the solid wall; the entrance is boarded up at the bottom, but the loop above is open. On the north wall is a small projection with chamfered edges and embattled top, showing the line of the stairs, and giving a little additional room. The screen was probably destroyed in the time of Edward VI, and the Rood (i.e. the Crucifix), with the Virgin and St. John on either side, taken away.

The nave is forty-five feet long and twenty-five feet wide. The chancel is twenty-three by eighteen; the church being before the restoration all of one pace. At the restoration were discovered fragments of a fine fresco, depicting apparently a procession, but only the legs and part of the drapery remained.

The very handsome red-brick tower (like, but superior to, that at Ingatestone) was apparently built about 1500 (*M. C.*). To quote Buckler:

'Three stories in height, it is a noble brick structure, with a machicolated parapet on small corbelled arches, overhanging four and a half inches, and surmounted by battlements, with well proportioned brick

pinnacles at the angles. Buttresses, the height of two stories, support the Tower. The quoins above them are chamfered, and form one side of the octagon pinnacles; at the north-east corner is a bold projection for the staircase leading to the roof, from which a commanding view of the country may be obtained. The stairs are curiously constructed of common bricks, measuring five courses to a foot in height, the newel or central pillar is octagonal, and from it, across to the outer wall (spanning the width of the staircase) is a series of ribs or arches, each rising the height of and sufficiently broad to receive two steps; these are likewise of brick.'

The bricks of which it was built would have been burnt in the immediate neighbourhood—either in Brick Clamp Field near Wellmead, or Brick Kiln Mead behind the Rectory.

There is still a small and ancient piscina in the south wall of the nave near the chancel; this would be in connexion with one of the small altars that stood in the nave against the chancel arch. The curious niche under the opening of the Rood-loft may also have been the site of an altar, or more possibly of some tomb or early monument.

The church was restored by Mr. Frederick Chancellor in 1869–70; and after being closed for about twelve months it was reopened on June 9th, 1870. The following notes in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of the 10th must, I think, have been partly supplied by Mr. Chancellor. He commences with stating that the church is undoubtedly of Norman, probably very early Norman work.

'Very little, if any, alteration appears to have been made in the walls, which are very substantial. The wall at the west end of the nave has been cut away, and a brick archway formed opening into a fine brick tower. Previous to the present restoration the roofs of both nave and chancel were comparatively of modern date, with the exception of two massively constructed principals at the west end of the nave, which were no doubt the remains of an original roof, and which entirely supported one of the ordinary wooden steeples of the county, thus proving that the present brick tower when erected was altogether an addition to the church, and not built upon the site of a more ancient tower. The body of the old porch was built of brick, but upon examination it was found that this comparatively modern brickwork supported the original roof of an open timbered fourteenth century porch. The restorations that have been carried out include the stripping of the plastering from the outside walls all round, thus exposing to view again the fine old conglomerate-walls of the Norman

period, the restoration of the stonework of the Norman and other windows and doors, and the construction of entirely new open roofs of oak timber tiled. Internally the chancel arch has been rebuilt in stone.' [Mr. Chancellor writes (1910) that from his notes he finds that 'the arch was part stone, part brick, with which it had been repaired, and it seems that what I did was to renew it all in stone.']

The flat ceiling of plaster that Buckler complained injured the interior effect of the church, and which from the accounts of old inhabitants must have cut the chancel arch and east chancel window, was of course removed, to the great improvement of the appearance of the church.

'The west gallery has been removed, and the fine brick archway of the tower opened up; the whole of the old high pews and sittings taken out and replaced with oak benches of simple design, with oak pulpit reading desk and lectern in character with the benches, the gangway being paved with tiles. . . . A reredos has been erected in memory of the late John Disney, Esq., and his lady by the present Mr. Disney. The design embraces three quatrefoil panels, the central panel having the sacred monogram enriched with a background of passion flowers, and the other panels having boldly carved studies of the vine and the wheat. In order to preserve the church from damp the surface all round has been sunk below the level of the floor and paved. The total cost of these restorations amounts to about £1400. Towards this sum had been promised up to the reopening something like £1250, including £200 by the Kortright family, £100 by the late Mr. Hetherington of St. Leonards, £100 by E. Disney, Esq., £200 by Wadham College, &c.'

The painted royal coat-of-arms of King Charles II, dated 1673, with the arms of France quartered with those of England, was removed at the time of the restoration, and has found a resting-place in Ingatestone Parish Room. I would suggest that Fryerning might invite it to return to her own Parish Room.

It is to be regretted that it was not possible to preserve the old principals in the roof, that had supported the original belfry; and also that the interesting fragments of stone grave-slabs were not fixed to the walls of the tower, instead of being placed on the floor of the porch, where they are being rapidly defaced. Mr. Chancellor does not remember whether they were found in the church, but thinks more probably they

E H N. W.

FRYERNING CHURCH

were in the churchyard; one is a tapering stone with foliated cross, another has the matrix of a half-length brass and inscription (a priest?).

On the day of the reopening (June 9, 1870) the little church was crowded to excess. Many of the neighbouring clergy were present, though not so many as at Ingatestone in 1867; perhaps the novelty had partly worn off, perhaps they considered that in so small a church it was kinder to leave room for the parishioners. The new Rector, the Rev. E. Cockey, read the prayers; the Rev. M. R. Barnard, of Margaretting, the first Lesson, and the Rev. J. Tauner, of Chelmsford, the second; the Rev. P. J. Honeywood, of Wakes Colne, was the Epistoler; and the Bishop of Rochester (Claughton) read the Gospel and preached. His text was, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' (Heb. xiii. 8). He closed his sermon by reminding his hearers that on this very spot of ground their forefathers knelt and prayed, that they stood firm in the faith when troubles and persecutions arose about them. He besought them to manifest as faithful a reverence for the Gospel, and referring at length to the hallowed associations connected with an ancient parish church like this, urged the parishioners to let this be not simply an outward work, but, as similar work had proved in other places, a benefit to the living and an honour to the dead.

The hymns were: 'Christ is our Corner-stone', 'All people that on earth do dwell', and 'Thou art gone up on high'.

After the service there was luncheon in the school-room, with seventy guests, amongst them the churchwardens, Mr. Dawson and Mr. G. P. Smith; the latter, we rejoice to say, still fills that honourable office (1912).¹ 'The caterer was Mr. James, of the "Spread Eagle" Inn, who placed upon the tables an excellent and well-served repast.' Is this warmer praise than that given to Mr. Ruffell, of the 'Bell', three years before? But probably it was a case of honours divided. The 'Spread Eagle', being in Fryerning, was justly chosen to feast the

¹ At the time Mr. W. Smith was actually churchwarden, but his son, Mr. G. P. Smith, acted for him a few years, and on his retiring in 1872 Mr. G. P. Smith was unanimously chosen to succeed him.

parish guests, even as the Ingatestone 'Bell' had catered for Ingatestone's visitors three years before.

The fragments of ancient painted glass that Buckler mentions as being in the chancel windows have disappeared; the present glass is all modern.

The East Window. The centre light is the Crucifixion; at the foot of the Cross to the north kneels the Virgin with 'Sancta Maria ora pro nobis' on her halo; on the south is St. John with 'Sanctus Johannes ora pro nobis' on his halo. The north light is the Annunciation. The south light is the Resurrection—the Angel and two women. Above in the tracery are three angels—the centre one bears a Tau cross, the one on the north the Crown of Thorns: he has no ordinary Angel's face, but rather that of a careworn man—a monk? The one to the south has a woman's face by no means young, and is holding up Veronica's cloth with the impress of the Saviour's face upon it.¹ I wonder how many of the congregation recognize this, and whether the Rector in whose time it was put up went into the details of the window before he gave his approval.

The lower part of the window was presented some years after the restoration by Lady Kortright, in remembrance of her husband, Sir Charles Kortright. The angels in the tracery above were given by Mrs. Blandford, in memory of Rector Blandford, who died suddenly whilst the restoration works were in progress. The lower half of the window was then filled with the Price glass, the flat ceiling concealing the upper tracery, which was only brought to light again when the ceiling was removed; the angels were therefore put in at the time of the restoration, and the lower part some years later, the Price glass being removed to make way for it.

The window on the north wall of the chancel is to the memory of the Rev. George Price and his sister Mary. One half has the Resurrection, with: 'I am the Resurrection and the Life. To the memory of the Rev. George Price, M.A., Rector of this Parish, who died May 9, 1861, aged 80.'

¹ Some read it as 'the seamless garment'; but why should a woman hold that?

The other half is the Risen Saviour and the Magdalen: 'Take up thy Cross and follow me. To the memory of Mary Price, who died unmarried May 8, 1851, Aged 68'—a quaint combination of text with 'died unmarried', and I often wondered whether it was an echo of some tragedy of early life and love; but I learn that Miss Price was a great invalid, and suffered much.

This window was originally part of the East Window, the glass now in the West Window being the centre panel. It was put up by Rector Price, perhaps in memory of his sister, perhaps in memory of Queen Victoria's accession; the tablet to his memory was left plain glass until his death, when the inscription was added. The window is by Wales, whom it is the fashion to decry as glaring and crude in colour; but I confess that returning from a visit to the glorious old painted glass in France I found his brilliant red and blue more satisfying than the muddy tones of the later East Window. The pink donkey of the South-West Window, I admit, is quaint, with his head turned back regretfully gazing at the hospitable door he is being made to pass, but he is less fantastic than Salome dancing on her head in Bourges Cathedral. The Good Samaritan is to the memory of that most excellent Mr. Dawson who interested himself in so many good works and was for many years the mainstay of the Sunday School: 'Go thou and do likewise. John Dawson, died Aug. 24th, 1876, in his 89th year.' The other half is the Woman of Samaria: 'Sir, give me this water. Isabella Dawson, died May 31st, 1881, in her 79th year.'

The South-East Window is Abraham and Melchizedec: 'To the glory of God and in loving memory of Edward Cockey, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College, Oxford, 25 years Vicar of Hockley, 10 years Rector of Fryerning, died Augst 7th, 1880, aged 71, and Jane Hay his wife, who died Sep^{er} 17th, 1861, aged 44. This window is erected by their children and friends.'

The small pieces of glass in the West Window were originally part of the East Window, q. v. The north panel has the royal arms and V.R.; the south panel, the Price coat-of-

arms; Geo. Price, M.A., inducted Rector 1826; and the Wadham arms below.

At the restoration of the church in 1870 the old organ was taken out of the tower gallery, and after being thoroughly repaired by Mr. Rust of Chelmsford, at a cost of £50, was placed at the bottom of the aisle against the north wall. For more than twenty years the old instrument seemed to have taken a new lease of life, but its days were numbered, and after a gradual decay of its powers, equally trying to the organist and congregation, it was decided that it must retire and a new one take its place. So, inspired by the Rector (the Rev. W. J. House), the congregation took in hand the raising of funds for this purpose, and in September, 1907, the work of building a new organ was entrusted to Messrs. Bevington, of London, and by the following March the new instrument was complete, and was dedicated to God's service on March 3, 1908. The cost of the organ was £250. It is in a handsome oak case, and the following particulars of the stops may be of interest:

<i>Swell.</i>	<i>Great.</i>
Principal 4.	Lieblich Flöte 4.
Open Diapason 8.	Dulciana 8.
Cor Anglais 8.	Flauto Traverso 8.
Lieblich Gedeckt 8	Open Diapason 8
<i>Couplers.</i>	<i>Pedal.</i>
Swell to Great.	Bourdon 16.
Great to Pedal.	
Swell to Pedal.	

The arrival of the new instrument saw the departure of the old one's only master, Mr. P. G. Greenfield. No other player ever succeeded so successfully in humouring its cranks and weaknesses as he did—combining the stops that wished to work together, and skipping the notes that, once touched, sounded out through the church without ceasing, to the mingled horror and amusement of the congregation. But the new organ with its healthy mechanism did not demand such humouring, and with the increasing pressure of his business Mr. Greenfield found himself compelled to resign, taking with him the gratitude of the congregation. He was succeeded for a while by Miss M. Rock, but after a while she too retired

(occupied too much perhaps by her efforts to promote the cause of Woman's Suffrage), and the post is now capably filled by Mr. Edgar Stone.

Of quite recent years the following gifts have been made:

Oak panelling round the east end of the chancel: 'To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Maria Humphrey, who fell asleep the 12th July, 1909. R. I. P.' Though living in Blackmore parish, for many years she regularly attended the afternoon service here, to which she always drove in a fly, wearing a black silk dress. This beautiful memorial is a very great improvement to the church.

Carved oak altar-rails: 'To the Glory of God & in loving remembrance of Ellen Davies. In Peace.' For many years she was a most faithful and regular worshipper, and in spite of her many years and her frail appearance no weather would hinder her from being amongst the little band who gathered at the early celebration of the Eucharist, and it is fitting she should be remembered at the steps so hallowed by her presence. These rails and the panelling were designed and carved by Mr. Marshall, of Coggeshall, and harmonize very happily. The rails were presented by Mrs. Alfred Du Cane.

Brass lectern, eagle, and brass rail: 'To the Glory of God and in loving memory of James Richard Upton, who died at Delhi, Dec^r 8th, 1901. Requiescat in Pace.' For many years Mr. Upton read the Sunday Lessons in church most excellently, and great sorrow was felt in the parish at his sudden death in India, whither he had gone with his daughter for a short visit. It is a matter for regret that the eagle and rail are not of oak, which would be in better keeping with the other gifts, but they were given by Mrs. Upton long before these were thought of.

Copper font ewer: 'The Gift of the Fryerning Children. A. D. 1903.' This was subscribed for by the children attending the Children's Service on Sunday afternoon. The design is not symbolical but merely a pretty pattern.

Other gifts of recent years are: Brass altar candlesticks, 1901, Miss Margaret Corser (Mrs. Cecil Way); Copper alms-dish, 1903, Mr. J. House; Brass altar cross, 1904, Mrs. J. R. Upton.

CHURCH PLATE

PATEN. Diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, weight 7 oz. Silver Gilt. Inscription: 'Fryering 1700'. *Plate mark 1700.*

CHALICE. Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, weight $11\frac{3}{4}$ oz. Silver Gilt. Inscription: 'Fryering 1700'. *Plate mark 1700.*

Both these pieces are by Benjamin (William?) Lukin, London. There is no parish record as to whether they were a special gift or bought by the parish.

FLAGON. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, weight $29\frac{3}{4}$ oz. Silver Gilt.

Inscription:

*In usum Ecclesiae Parochialis
de FRYERING apud Icnos*

DDQDER

AD 1716

Plate mark 1716.

I am indebted to the Bishop of Barking and the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark for the translation and interpretation—'For the use of the parish church of Fryering in Essex given and presented by Robert D'Oyley, Rector of the Church, 1716'. D D Q R D E R stands for 'Dedit donavitque Robert Doyley Ecclesiae Rector'. Icnos for Essex is not strictly correct. 'In the eighteenth century they were not precise about Roman geography, and did not make the Stour part the Icenii of Norfolk and Suffolk from the Trinobantes of our county.'

It should be noted that all these vessels were made during the short period when a higher standard was compulsory (March 1697—June 1720): during that time the only legal standard for the manufacture of plate was 11 oz. 10 dwt. of fine silver to 10 dwt. of alloy, instead of the otherwise invariable standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver to 18 dwt. of alloy—and the Hall-mark was Britannia and not the Lion.

And let us take a glance into the Vestry ere we go, and there see the old blackboard with the names of donors of parish charities, which was originally erected in front of the organ gallery at the expense of Charles Hornby, of Furze Hall, to commemorate the legacy of twenty shillings a year left to the poor of Fryering by Rector D'Oyley. The Rector dead, the parishioner would remember only the good deed of the gift, and would bury in oblivion the Rector's tithe-graspingness. May we be forgiven for disinterring it in a future chapter!

FRYERNING CHURCH PLATE

L. // A. H.

CHAPTER III

INGATESTONE CHURCH

‘This church tells a tale of long antiquity, it tells how the village grew and prospered, how those who had received blessings from God returned to Him some portion of their substance in beautifying and adorning it.’—
BISHOP CREIGHTON.

THE oldest part of the church is the north wall, which is of Norman work, and contained until recently a Norman lancet. Originally the church must have been very similar to that of Fryerning, but being in the centre of a much larger population it was necessary to enlarge it.

The south aisle was probably added early in the fourteenth century, the four cluster pillars and the form of the arches with their two chamfered reveals being evidence of this period. The nave is three bays in length, and measures forty-four feet by eighteen feet wide. The south aisle is fourteen feet wide, and the chancel thirty-three and a half by seventeen; this is also divided into three bays, the pillars being octagonal, with arches having three reveals. These columns and arches were covered with plaster and whitewash until 1905, when they were scraped and cleaned, at the time the organ-chamber was built.

The elongated pier on the south-west (where the chancel arch stood?) contained the staircase to the Rood-loft: the doorway remains, but it is blocked; it was probably then wider, and the projection finished off with battlements. The Rood-screen here was of wood, and when removed in the time of Edward or Elizabeth the beam was simply sawn off and the ends left in the walls; these were seen by Buckler, but are now gone. The walls of the south chapel were cased with brick-work or rebuilt in the sixteenth century; they are two feet wider than the south aisle.¹ The west part of this I believe to

¹ Buckler.

be the almspeople's chapel, so often mentioned in the register as a place of burial. The eastern end of this south chancel was used by the Petre family as a burying-place; the floor is slightly higher than the rest of this aisle, and the marks of the railings are still visible in the floor. These were removed by permission of Lord Petre to give more accommodation.

The south chapel would appear to have been divided from the south aisle by a light and elegant screen, of which traces remained until 1867, when they disappeared at the restoration; it may have been used for daily service for almsfolk in former days.

The north chapel, now used as a vestry, opens into the church by an arch of the same form as that on the south side. On its outer west wall are to be seen the initials W P in vitrified brick, from which it would appear that it was built by Sir William Petre, or more probably by the second Baron Petre. The north chapel and the chancel were also used as the burying-place of the Petre family for many generations. Since Thorndon Chapel was completed they are no longer buried here, and many of the bodies were removed there about 1860. The south chapel was surrounded with iron railings, and for many years was not used, until Mr. Parkin got Lord Petre's consent to their removal.

The window of the chancel has three lights with plain tracery; at the east end of the almspeople's chapel is a triple-light window with stone arch; the windows on the south side are late Perpendicular, one double- one triple-light; they had originally wooden lintels, now replaced by stone. The door into this chapel was closed at the restoration.

The south aisle has one single-light window; a double-light window with widely splayed jambs and an inner arch with ribbed soffit; and a similar window is at the west end but without the ribbed soffit. In the north wall are two Perpendicular two-light windows, but the Norman one no longer exists. The tower, now thrown open to the church, contains a fine Perpendicular window.

Buckler found both north and south doors blocked. The porch to the south door was used then as a tool-house;

subsequently it was a refuge for the village fire-engine until 1867, when, the porch being taken down, it found shelter in Mr. Gardiner's yard opposite until its present home in the Market Place was ready.

Of the north door Buckler says : 'Here stood a timber Porch; marks of it are still traceable on the wall, local tradition says that it was removed only a few years ago.' It is shown as rather a considerable structure in a tiny print (Hollar?) now in the Guildhall Library. The north chapel or vestry also has a narrow door. The expense of making this entrance was borne by Mrs. Avenell, in memory of her husband.

The main entrance to the church is through the grand Perpendicular doorway of the tower.

In the south aisle is a small plain pointed piscina near the ancient site of the screen ; on the north wall, a little away from the pulpit, is fixed an antique and curious iron hour-glass stand, but the hour-glass, alas ! has gone. It dates from the Puritan times, when lengthy sermons were so much in fashion, and it may well have been placed there by Rector Willis, that zealous supporter of the movement. It stood there not so much to tell the preacher when to end, but rather to warn him not to cut short his discourse, which was to feed and instruct his flock, and lead them in the narrow way. Neither modern Rector nor congregation would care for the return of those hour-long sermons, but there was something to be said for them in those days, when many could not read, and few religious books or sermons were within the reach of the multitude. Though life was very busy and occupied there was not the restless hurry-scurry of to-day, when scraps of stories, science jottings, newspaper headlines, and ten-minute sermons are all most of us seem able to digest ; the Sunday sermon was often the subject of discussion during the ensuing week ; was the preacher sound on baptism ? was his interpretation of that passage right ? and the old congregation was probably far more competent to call in question the soundness of its Rector's teaching than the congregation of to-day, with its feebler knowledge of the Bible, and unwillingness to think out seriously the solemn themes presented to it. The hour-glass

succeeded a curious old fresco on the north wall which came to light at the restoration. It was circular and in compartments, depicting the Seven Deadly Sins in most realistic fashion. Its effacement by whitewash and the substitution of the hour-glass can hardly have been pleasing to the lighter-minded and younger members of the congregation, to whom the quaint pictures must have been of interest, if not the warning for which they were intended.

Miss Parkin writes :

‘I remember the fresco quite well. It represented in colour the seven deadly sins in a very coarse and realistic manner. Hell-fire was in the centre. I believe it was sketched, but do not remember who took the sketch. After much perplexity my father, the church-wardens, and the building committee decided to cover the fresco, and also another small one very faded representing St. Christopher, with some sort of preparation which would preserve them safely, in case some future restorer wished to open them up again. The large fresco was on the north wall west of the pulpit, and the small one, which was scarcely visible, on the wall near the tower. I believe my father and the committee were afterwards blamed for covering the frescos : I dare say it would not have been done in these days, but they acted as they thought best.’

The noble and stately tower, which gives to the church a dignity it would otherwise lack, was probably built in the latter part of the fifteenth century (*Buckler*) or the middle of the sixteenth (*Miller Christy*). It is a remarkable specimen of bold details and fine proportions : showing what may be accomplished with common bricks, of which upwards of half a million were consumed in its erection. It is nearly square on plan, and four stories in height : the measurement from east to west sixteen feet nine inches, and from north to south fifteen feet three inches, in the clear of the walls ; these are six bricks in thickness at the basement, and four at the top story.

The outside face of the wall retreats with the stories, and on each side of the tower are massive buttresses, set in a few inches from the angles, so that perfect quoins shall appear between the buttresses. This arrangement of lines is carried nearly to the summit. The buttresses are lessened in breadth of face at each story, as well as in projection : the result is an

INGATESTONE CHURCH

agreeable diminution of the tower in every direction without any harsh lines. This accounts perhaps for the graceful contour of the pile, when viewed from a distance; and gives comparative lightness to it upon a close inspection. At the top cornice the quoins are corbelled over to receive the pinnacles, three of which are octagon; the fourth, at the south-east corner, is circular; all of them have been considerably reduced in height and shorn of their original terminations.

The machicolated parapet, two bricks in thickness, is embattled. The hidden roof is covered with tiles and terminated with a large antique vane and scrolls at the apex. The west front presents the largest amount of design, and has a boldly detailed doorway; over it is a noble four-light Perpendicular window, with brick mullions and tracery; the next story and the belfry have double-light openings, slightly differing in the arrangement of the reveals; the double-light is repeated on the east side of the belfry, but on the north and south the only apertures are single-light windows in the two upper stories. Great strength is thus preserved in the structure, and an imposing effect is produced. The blank walls are relieved by vitrified bricks disposed in a variety of patterns. The basement opens into the nave by a stupendous arch of three reveals.

A projection on the south side contains the staircase to the roof; the brick steps are of ample width, and gather round an unusually large circular newel thirteen inches in diameter, they rest upon arches constructed as at Fryerning Church.¹

In 1866, the church being in a bad state of repair, the Rector (the Rev. Lewis Parkin) embarked upon the work of restoration. It was put into the hands of Mr. Frederick Chancellor, who did the work with much skill. New roofs were placed on the south aisle and chancel, and that of the nave was repaired. The gallery and belfry-floor were cleared out of the tower, new stone-work put in the windows, the old high seats removed and their places taken by stained deal benches. Many articles were presented to the church by different friends; amongst them being new altar, altar rails,

¹ All these particulars are from Buckler.

altar-cloth, font, lectern, and an octagonal stone pulpit with carved panels.

It must have been a great day for the village when the work was finished, and the old House of God once more open for the worship of the inhabitants. Holy Communion was celebrated by the Rector at 8 a.m., and at 11 the Bishop of Rochester,¹ who had passed the night at the Rectory, proceeded to the church, through the old Rectory garden, accompanied by a great number of the neighbouring clergy in their robes. Church restoration was a novelty in those days, and many must have come with curiosity to see the effect of Mr. Chancellor's work before venturing to suggest a change in their own parish. (For changes were by no means always popular. I well remember, on my father's coming to the then remote country parish of Limpsfield in Surrey, the difficulties he had to surmount before the work could be commenced. At a preliminary meeting he pointed out how the seats for the poor were so narrow and cramped that it was impossible for any one to kneel in them; to which the most wealthy parishioner promptly replied, 'You read in the Bible that "David sat before the Lord" when he prayed'. And after the work had all been beautifully and harmoniously completed under the care of Mr. Pearson, a former inhabitant came over to see the church, and at the end of her visit she turned to the old clerk and said, 'Great improvements, Mr. Ridley', to which the old man politely, but gravely, replied, 'Great *changes*, Madam'. I doubt whether he was ever quite reconciled to the alterations, though always most loyal to the Rector who had made them. We may well be thankful that our two churches were put into the hands of so careful a restorer as Mr. Chancellor, and that they escaped the sad fate of Widford. Old people still recall the grief that the destruction of that old church caused the inhabitants, and how at the end of the last service held within the ancient building, many of the congregation kissed the sacred walls, so hallowed by the prayers and praises of countless generations, and shed many

¹ Bishop Claughton, only just appointed to the diocese.

tears at the thought that they would worship within them no more.¹)

There were present among the clergy the Rectors and Vicars of Moulsham, Great Baddow, Sandon, Stock, Romford, Brentwood, Hatfield Peverel, Great Waltham, Shenfield, Chignal Smealey, Billericay, Chelmsford, Runwell, Roxwell, Ramsden Bellhouse, Highgate, High Easter, West Thorpe, Willingale Doe, Mountnessing, Great Burstead, and St. Mark, Kensington. The Rector, the Rev. L. Parkin, read the prayers; the Vicar of Moulsham (Mason) the first Lesson; the Rev. W. Dalton, Vicar of Little Burstead, the second; the Rector of Shenfield (Ferguson) the Epistle, and the Rector of Sandon (Gibson) the Gospel. The Bishop preached from Isaiah lviii. 12, 'And they that shall be of thee shall build'.

It is rather strange to find so many clergy coming from distant parishes, and the adjoining ones hardly represented, neither Fryerning, Margaretting, Blackmore, or Highwood vicars being mentioned as present.

Lunch was served at the school, 'in a most satisfactory style', by Mr. Ruffell, of the 'Bell'; and about a hundred guests were present. The usual speeches were made, but only the Rector's calls for comment. 'The one thing they had a holy horror of', he said, 'was debt; if they did not go into debt for other things, still less should they go into debt for the church. The work had cost £1,600, and nearly all of that sum had been already collected.'² A most excellent sentiment, not always popular with the clergy, but our parishes have set a happy example in the way of honesty, both under past and present rectors.

STAINED GLASS WINDOWS

East Window. The Crucifixion. The Agony in the Garden. The Scourging. Bearing the Cross.

'Jesus, that he might sanctify the people with his blood, suffered without the gate.'

¹ Mrs. Wright, now of Ingatestone.

² *Chelmsford Chronicle*, June 18, 1867, 'The restoration of the chancel was at the sole expense of the Rector.' It does not appear clearly whether this was included in the £1,600.

South-West Aisle Window. Adoration of the Shepherds.

‘Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given.
Emmanuel. God with us.

To the Glory of God, and in loving memory of Henry Newberry, who died January 30th, 1876, aged 82.’

West Window of South Aisle. Saint John Baptist. Saint Elizabeth.

‘To the Glory of God and in Memory of Lewis Parkin, 25 years Rector of this Parish, who died 18th Jan^y, 1887, and of Barbara his wife, who died 9th Dec^r, 1891.’

North-West Window.

Visitation.

Sancta Maria B. V.

Vision at Patmos.

Sanctus Johannes.

‘In memoriam William Jesse, died 1871, and Sophia Jesse, died 1872, of Ingatestone, by their children.’

North-East Window.

Saint Peter with keys.

St. Paul with sword.

Walking on the Water.

Vision at Damascus.

‘Simon Peter an Apostle of Jesus Christ.’

‘I have fought a good Fight.
I have kept the Faith.’

‘To the Glory of God erected by Eliza Foreman, of Wood Barns, in affectionate remembrance of her uncle Charles Windley, of Leytonstone, who died December 18, 1864, aged 77 years. 2

The Communion plate has an interesting history which is to be found in the following entries in the Register Book, No. 2:

On April y^e 9th, 1726 y^e Letter here annext was sent to me at Ingatestone: there are some false spellings in it which I have corrected.

S^r London April y^e 8th 1726

I desire you will be pleased to place this Plate upon y^e Communion Table, it being a small present dedicated to y^e service of y^e Altar, by one that often has seen y^e want of something better than is used there, and I heartily wish I had it in my Power to have made it more considerable; but as y^e Mite was accepted, and God knows y^e Heart, I hope this will, I am,

S^r Y^r obedient Servant

The Box will be wth
you tomorrow by y^e
Chelmsford Coach with
a Book for y^e service.

no name was mentioned from
whom this Letter came.

By the Coach there were sent me, one Silver Flagon, one Silver

Chalice, one Silver Dish, and one Silver Salver, and an handsome Common Prayer Book.

On May y^e 5th 1728 I received a Letter from Mr Owen, Goldsmith, who I believe sent me the former Letter

Sr May y^e 4th, 1728

I having received an order from y^e Person y^t gave y^e Plate y^t I made and sent this time two years, to make another Flagon & Chalice and Book. Y^e Person was wth me about two months after they were made and told me they did not think their Gift so good as they would have it, and would have me send for them up again, but did not give me the order till now. As you administer y^e Sacrament y^e last Sunday in y^e Month I beg y^e Favour of you to send them up by y^e Coach y^e first Opportunity to my Shop and I will take care y^t you shall have them again by y^e latter end of this Month. If you are pleased to send y^e Dish and Salver to be new finished up wth y^e rest it will look more compleat. I beg your Answer by y^e first Post. I do not know any Gentleman in your neighbourhood but Mr Knightsbridge, who I fear is too far; but if you think it fit to enquire of him I believe he will satisfy you of me. I will give a Receipt for y^e Plate, from y^e humble servant to command. W^m OWEN.

Direct for me Goldsmith.

At y^e Wheatsheaf in Cheapside.

Sometime after I went to London and committed y^e Plate to Mr. Owen to have the Addition made to it, and to brighten and to finish up y^e rest: not doubting he was very sincere in what he wrote to me, and would be punctual in performing w^t he had promised, I desired him when he sent down y^e box wth y^e former and Additional Plate to give me an Account how many ounces of Plate there were. w^{ch} he accordingly did in his next Letter.

June y^e 8th 1728

Yesterday by y^e Coach I sent directed to you in a Box carriage p^d two Silver Flagons two Chalices 1 Dish and 1 Salver and two Prayer Books. Weighing in all (y^e Plate only he meant) 139 oz 1^{dwt} as you will find y^e weight engraved on each Piece.

From yours to command

W^m. OWEN.

I frequently enquired of Mr Owen, who was y^e generous Donor but he told me he was enjoined Silence and must not make any Discovery of it, till y^e Death of y^e Benefactor, so if this still remains a Secret I have here affixt y^e Letters y^t they may remain to Posterity, till they are worn out by time.

THOS RALPH, Rector.

The letters are gone and there is no sign of them: they may have been pinned to the opposite page. Neither is there any record of the generous donor's name, but the plate remains, a worthy offering from a pious worshipper.

The following notes are pasted into Register Book, No. 4 :

Contents of Communion Plate, Ingatestone.

						oz	dwts
1	Tankard *	.	.	.	.	35	9
1	*	.	.	.	.	35	10
1	Cup	.	.	.	.	11	1
1	*	.	.	.	.	17	9
1	*	.	.	.	.	17	19
1	Salver	.	.	.	.	4	13
1		.	.	.	.	4	16
1	*	.	.	.	.	14	16
1	Plate *	.	.	.	.	17	18
						159	11

The items marked with an asterisk must be the ones presented anonymously, their weight making up 139 oz. 1 dwt. All the above are mentioned in the terrier exhibited at the primary visitation of John, Lord Bishop of London, June 19, 1810, signed by John Lewis, Rector, Henry ffinch, Churchwarden, Wm. Woods, Chas. Elwin, W. L. Walford.

The church is still (1913) in possession of most of this plate, viz.—two flagons, two plates used for the bread before consecration, two patens, two chalices; and at Easter, 1912, an addition was made of one small chalice, presented by Miss Mary and Miss Edith Harris for use on Saints' days.

In Rector Parkin's time an attempt was made to steal the old plate, the burglars entering by the nursery window, and greatly frightening the nurse; they only succeeded in carrying off Mr. Parkin's pocket Communion set, the large and valuable parish vessels being concealed in a place of safety. But the Rector, not desiring any further burglaries, consigned them to the care of Mr. Disney, then Churchwarden, and part of them were afterwards taken to the Chelmsford Bank.

In 1862 a small organ was purchased to take the place of the old barrel-organ that had reigned supreme for many years. This new organ also was put in the gallery, and for a long time did excellent service. Its stops were :

- Open Diapason.
Stopped Diapason.
Principal.
- Dulciana.
Gamba.
Bourdon.

The Bourdon stop is still remembered for its sweetness. The organ was built by Messrs. Bevington.

In 1898 the congregation desired a larger and more complete instrument, and the old friend was disposed of to Great Burstead Church, where, I understand, it still gives satisfaction. A new organ was erected by Messrs. Foster and Andrews, of Hull, at a cost of about £410, and it was placed in the chancel against the north wall. The stops are as follows :

<i>Great Organ.</i>		<i>Swell.</i>	
Open Diapason	8 ft.	Open Diapason	8 ft.
Stopped Diapason	8 ft.	String Gamba	8 ft.
Flute Harmonic	4 ft.	Salicional	8 ft.
Dulciana	8 ft.	Voix Celeste	8 ft.
Principal	4 ft.	Gemshorn	4 ft.
Fifteenth	2 ft.		
Twelfth	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ ft.		
<i>Pedal</i>	Bourdon.		Bass Flute.
Couplers, 3	Composition Pedals, 2.		

The following notes on the instrument have been kindly furnished me by Mr. George West, now and for many years past the excellent organist at Ingatestone and trainer of the Fryerning choir.

'To avoid blocking the view of the east end the bellows, and as much of the mechanism as possible, were placed high up above the head of the player. The action is assisted by pneumatic power, making the pedal touch in particular very light. The two stops on the pedal—Bourdon and bass flute—are pronounced by musicians with a knowledge of organs to be of very good quality. Very little of the work is borrowed, all the stops, except one on the Swell, running right through. So many organs are spoilt by this system of borrowing. One stop has pipes for say two-thirds of the notes of the keyboard, the lower portion being supplied by the corresponding notes of another similar stop. The workmanship and material have proved of the highest quality. One defect only is noticeable, the shutters of the Swell Box have warped. Owing to the unusual construction these had to be exceptionally long, and the builders ought to have counteracted this by using much thicker wood. The beauty of the delicate Swell stop Voix Celeste is marred by this defect as the box is never completely closed. I hope some day some kind friend will be found so interested as to have this defect rectified, and, I must add, complete the improvement by adding a reed stop such as the oboe, for which tuners tell me there is just room. No organ can be considered complete without one, and the absence of one is a matter I have always much regretted.'

In 1905 the dry-rot, which had for several years been very troublesome in the church, was found to have attacked the posts which supported the organ, and also the floor beneath. As many complaints had been made of the unsightliness of the organ occupying so much of the small chancel it was decided to build an organ-chamber, and this was erected on the north side of the chancel. The Rector and congregation were not content with this work alone, but at the same time they cleaned the walls, drained the church, rebuilt a buttress, scraped the plaster from the brick pillars and arches, and made a considerable addition and improvement to the east end and the Reredos, the cost amounting to over £410. But a more serious task was awaiting them in the near future.

The Essex earthquake of 1884 had done some damage to their beautiful tower; not very apparent at first, it gradually became evident that some steps must be taken to prevent the mischief going further, the cracks over the west door showing signs of opening. In 1908 this work was entrusted to Messrs. Brown, of Braintree, at a cost of over £470: the same firm had restored the church in 1867. Erecting the scaffolding alone cost over £80. A considerable amount of work was found to be necessary. The roof of the tower was thoroughly overhauled; the battlements, being found to be in a dangerous condition, were taken down and rebuilt; the slopes of the buttresses were stripped off and rebbed and new bricks inserted; the string-courses were also repaired. The centre mullions of the west window were rebuilt, and new oak Louvre-boards fixed, and the brickwork on each side of the largest crack was taken out, rebuilt, and banded together. The tower was also bound together with two stout steel girders and eight iron rods, but these are concealed by the brickwork and do not show; a certain amount of repointing was also done.

From a picturesque point of view it is to be regretted that so many new bricks had to be used, but the safety of the building made it necessary to forgo artistic sentiments. Time alone will show whether the insertion of steel girders was a wise step.

The organ being newly housed, the walls cleaned, the pillars scraped, the tower repaired, and the bells rehung (1900), the clock now clamoured for attention. With no face it was truly out of sight, but not out of mind, with its voice daily proclaiming its needs; and not in vain did it call, the £50 necessary was promptly forthcoming and the needful repairs completed.

Well may the Rector (the Rev. C. E. Earle) be proud that he has been able to raise the £1,000 needed for all these works in the short space of four years.

CHAPTER IV

THE FONTS

FRYERNING FONT

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar :
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home :
Heaven lies about us in our infancy !

W. WORDSWORTH, *Ode on Immortality*.

THE object of greatest interest in either church is Fryerning Font. There it stands—old, solemn, curious; and to our queries: who put it here? did local artists carve it? why are all the sides different? and, above all, why the Sun, Moon, and Stars? the old stone gives no answer.

It is with diffidence I offer an explanation of the carving, until some one more learned in such matters, gives a more likely solution. I do not for a moment think that the artist carved any of these sides merely as patterns pleasing to his artistic eye. Any knowledge of mediaeval learning and art, and especially of the countless French churches, shows at once that the carving and paintings on those old buildings were put there to teach some lesson, familiar to the people or the priests of that age, though often conveying no idea to us. It must be remembered that they were made before the days of printing, and these stone and painted pictures stood to the people in the place of our modern books. I read the carving on the four sides to be meant to represent:

South Face. The Seven Wandering Stars, i. e. the Sun, Moon, and the five Planets then known—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—and the fixed Stars.

FRYERNING FONT, E. FACE
Tree of Jesse

FRYERNING FONT, S. FACE
Sun, moon, and stars

East Face. Tree of Jesse, or Tree of Life.

North Face. The Vine.

West Face. Cross and Crown.

It will be simpler for my readers if I sum up first and give my reasons afterwards.

I think that in designing this font the artist intended to show—by the Stars, his belief that every one brought to the Font had been born under the influence of one of the Heavenly Bodies; by the Tree of Life, that salvation had come through the Virgin and Christ to every baptized person; by the Vine, the union with Christ through His Passion and the Holy Communion; by the Cross and Crown, the daily trouble and future glory that awaited the new Christian; and as he came round again to the Heavenly Bodies he would proclaim, how—

‘As soon as it is delivered from the trammels of the flesh, the soul will soar to these lofty regions. . . . How contemptible will appear to the soul the narrowness of its former dwelling, how empty the ambition of those who dream of no other immortality than glory in this finite realm! As soon as it reaches the starry spheres, reason is nourished and expands; in its former home it regains its original qualities; it rejoices among the divine stars; it contemplates all the glory of the bright heaven, and at the same time it is ravished by the accordant sounds of enchanting music. . . . Freed from the passions of the body, it will be able to abandon itself entirely to its insatiable desire for knowledge . . . it will receive a full revelation of all the secrets of Nature—that is, of God.’¹

I will now attempt to justify my reading of the old stone’s problem:

South Face. SUN, MOON, AND STARS. To explain these I think we must go back to far-off days in the East.

In Asia the serenity of the heavens, and the majesty of the celestial phenomena in those clear skies, attracted and engrossed the imagination. The Assyrians saw in the stars divinities to whom they attributed good and bad influences, especially the Sun and Moon. The adoration of celestial bodies was also the religion of the pastoral population who descended from the mountains of Kurdistan to the plains of Babylon. Here the priests devoted themselves to the study

¹ Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, 1912, p. 200.

of the heavens; the temples were veritable observatories, such as the celebrated tower of Babylon, consecrated to the seven planets—the Seven Wandering Stars. At the head of their gods the Assyrians placed the Sun, and the Moon and the five Planets occupied the most elevated places in the divine hierarchy. These were sometimes called the Seven Wandering Stars from their movement in the sky. They were called god interpreters, because by them things were explained, and the succession of events made known—for example, the recurring seasons. Saturn (the most distant one known until 1781), called the beautiful ancient, and regarded as the highest because the most distant from us, was regarded with the greatest veneration at one time by the Chaldeans, and was the interpreter *par excellence*—the revealer. From the position of the stars at the time of birth, the priest astronomers drew a horoscope of the destiny of individuals. Persia and India also looked on the Sun as the great god, and his enemy was darkness. There was therefore always the contest between the powers of darkness and light, but final victory was assured to the god of light.¹

In Egypt also the movements of the heavenly bodies were studied, and the religious festivals arranged accordingly.

Deborah, as she celebrated her great victory, sang:

They fought from heaven,
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,²

And Amos said,

Seek him that maketh the seven stars.³

The Greeks and Romans also believed in the influence of the Planets. Selden quotes an extraordinary form of oath, by which the astronomer Vettius Valens bound his disciples to secrecy. 'I adjure thee, most honoured brother and your fellow students, by the starry vault of heaven, by the circle of zodiac—the Sun, the Moon, and the five Wandering Stars (by which universal life is governed), by Providence itself, that you will keep these things Secret.'⁴

¹ L. F. A. Maury, *La Magie et Astrologie*, pp. 27, 28. ² Judges v. 20.

³ Amos v. 8.

⁴ W. Jones, *Finger Ring Lore*, p. 111.

And through Mediaeval days and later, the belief in the influence of the stars on human destiny was universally held. The great scholar Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), to whom Dante (d. 1321) is indebted on a great variety of subjects, holds that there is in man a twofold principle of action, nature and the will. Nature indeed is governed by the stars, but the will is free. Since nature moves with the movement of the stars, the will, if it does not resist, commences to be inclined by the movement of the stars.¹

Students of Dante will remember how he attributes his own talents to the great virtue of the constellation of Gemini (*Paradiso*, xxii). Here also Dante describes the seven spheres of the seven planets, and the seven classes of glorified spirits that appear to him there. The first division of the seven planets is that of the three to which the earth's shadow was supposed to extend—the Moon, Mercury, Venus. Beyond the earth's shadow are the four higher spheres of the Sun—Mars, Jupiter, Saturn; and beyond came an eighth sphere, that of the fixed stars. All these spheres his vision saw peopled with glorious saints with different virtues. The eighth sphere of the fixed stars was of much later origin than the other seven, but was universal in the Middle Ages.

And to-day the symbols are still carved on the grave-slabs in High Albania, though their meaning is forgotten.

'At Theti the graveyard is stately with big wooden crosses well carved, the arms ending in circles adorned with a rayed sun' . . . 'At Pulati the priest had found traces of a belief in two powers, one of light and one of darkness, and thought that the sun and moon-like figures are concerned with this' . . . 'Many of the grave-slabs in Dushmani Churchyard are rudely scored with mysterious patterns, in which the sun and crescent moon almost invariably occur, and the cross seldom; the symbols of the pre-Christian beliefs that still influence the people. I vainly and repeatedly asked for their meaning, but only met the old answer, 'for ornament'.²

¹ Ed. Gardner, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, p. 20; also pp. 13, 14. For the working out of Dante's scheme see also E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Series I and III.

² Miss E. Durham, *High Albania*, pp. 107, 129, 166. There is a late three-light window of the Crucifixion at the north-east end of Lisieux Cathedral. In the central panel is Christ attended by an angel; in the panel to his right the penitent thief is being released from his cross by an

The font was made at the time of the Crusades, when there was much coming and going of religious people to the East; and it was not unreasonable that those symbols originating and common in the far East should be carved upon the font, representing both the Eastern and Western beliefs that the stars had an influence over every soul that was born,¹ with perhaps a further inner meaning that to the heavens the soul was meant to return.

The two larger stars which with the Sun and Moon occupy the centre, I take to be Mercury and Venus, the nearest planets, the four small ones at the corners being the more distant—Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and one representative of the fixed stars.² The rayed sun is a not unusual manner of depicting it, and it is to be found on the stalls of Lincoln Cathedral.

Therefore I believe the artist carved the Sun, Moon, and Stars to symbolize the belief so widely held in his days—that every human being was under the influence of one of the Heavenly Bodies, and that after life was ended the soul would return to the Stars.³

angel, and above them in the angle is a golden sun; to the left is the impenitent thief being taken down by a red devil, and above them in a deep blue sky is a pale crescent moon.

¹ Of their early use M. P. Verneuil says: 'Dans les livres d'heures gothiques, un corps humain est figuré entr'ouvert, et les sept planètes dardant chacun un rayon sur une partie différente de ce corps. On indiquait par là la croyance que les organes divers étaient soumis à l'influence des astres. La lune exerçait son influence sur le cerveau.'—*Dict. des Symboles*.

² These ideas may seem fantastic, but it must be remembered that the font was made in the age of Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen, whose theories are often so unattractive and futile to modern minds; and a study of the religious fêtes held to-day in Italy and Sicily will prove many of them to be of pagan origin, handed down from Roman times.

³ My theory and this chapter were worked out and written in the spring of 1912; this Christmas I have met with Franz Cumont's *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (1912), which confirms me in my view. I have given in the text one quotation from his book and will add here his concluding sentences: 'It would be an interesting study to join you in searching for survivals of these Pagan tenets through the Middle Ages, and in showing the forms which they assumed in the popular creed and amongst the divines. In general, souls continued to be represented as passing through the spheres of heaven in order to reach the abode of the Most High . . . (Mentions Dante). To destroy these old eschatological ideas it was necessary for Copernicus and Galileo to overthrow the

East Face. THE TREE OF LIFE, or THE TREE OF JESSE. The carving is not that of a modern artist's idea of a tree, but mediaeval carving was often rough, and generally conventional.

'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots . . . which shall stand for an ensign of the people ; to it shall the Gentiles seek' (Isa. xi. 1, 10). 'In the midst was the tree of life' (Rev. xxii. 2). The tree of Jesse is a common subject in old windows, and our neighbour Margaretting is justly proud of her beautiful fourteenth-century one, depicting Jesse asleep, with the tree growing out of his side, bearing on its branches above his different descendants, until at the top comes the Virgin with the Christ-Child—the Life-Giver. But the subject is often quite differently treated in mediaeval days, two trees being sometimes shown—the tree of knowledge as a dead tree, which through sin has lost all its leaves and fruit ; and a living fruit-bearing tree, the type of Christ, the food and life of the Christian soul.

This subject was very popular in France in the Middle Ages, and was worked out at length in Guillaume de Deguileville's allegory, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*, written about 1330 ; for many years this was a most popular work, and several beautifully illustrated manuscript copies are still extant in the great French libraries. It was translated into English, and printed by Caxton in 1480. Guillaume dreams that he is dead and his soul is taken by his Guardian Angel through hell, purgatory, and paradise, even as Dante dreamt ; but the French pilgrim's dream is far different from that of the great Italian. He sees little children playing in purgatory with apples from the tree of life. He hears how Adam, being very ill, sends Seth to the Paradise Garden to fetch him some medicine, where an angel gives Seth a twig of the Tree of Knowledge, with instructions to plant it, and as it grows, so

system of Ptolemy and bring down those heavens peopled by bright beings, and so to open to the imagination the infinite spaces of a boundless universe.' Our font was carved nearly three hundred years before the birth of Copernicus.

will Adam grow better. But Seth returns too late and old Adam is dead. Seth plants the twig, which grows, and is finally cut down by King Solomon¹ and used in building the Temple, and later the Cross is made from its wood. And the living tree the angel explained thus: Adam's race had become like sour crab-apple trees; so when God the Father had decided on the Incarnation of Christ He found the root of Jesse alone sound, and taking as the graft the Virgin Mary. He grafted her into the stock Anna, and so from them came the Tree of Life.

I have quoted at some length to show the extent to which allegory and symbolism were carried in those distant days.

The dead and living trees are not unfrequently to be found in early Italian paintings, especially in the Venetian school of Carpaccio, Bellini and Basaiti. They may be seen in Giovanni Bellini's 'Allegory' in the Uffizi Gallery, at Florence, a picture that puzzled many students until Dr. G. Ludwig discovered Degeville's *Pilgrimage* and by it solved the riddle.

The Tree of Jesse is a most common subject in the old painted windows of Normandy, and is to be found in almost every church that contains ancient glass; in the church of St. Vincent in Rouen there are two, and in one of them the tree springs not from Jesse but from Anna. On the west porch of Rouen Cathedral the tree is also carved. Most usually the tree is drawn as a vine with curling tendrils. In the delightful fifteenth century clerestory glass at Grand-

Amely one panel shows Adam kneeling, tilling the ground in the sweat of his brow, Eve beside him suckling a child, and Death close behind as a skeleton; in the background is one stiff robust Tree of Life, and all the other trees are represented dead and bare.

¹ Solomon's Tree of Life appears to have been used in magic, see S. L. M. Mather, *Key of Solomon*, p. 66.

² *Jahrbuch der Kon. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1902. Bellini's Venetian 'Allegory' is explained by Dr. Ludwig in *Italien. Forschungen kunsthist. Inst. Florenz*, Berlin, 1906, vol. i. It is a pity these interesting articles are not republished in a form accessible to English visitors to the Galleries.

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FRYERNING FONT, N. FACE
Vine

FRYERNING FONT, W. FACE
Cross and crown

During the eight or nine hundred years that must have passed since our font was carved many changes have passed over the churches; the use of perishable material, the love of change, sometimes bad treatment, have caused the disappearance of far the greater part of the carved work of the handicraftsmen of those days. Even where the solid Norman building remains, the ornamentation of the stonework is almost always more recent; but in the ruined Abbey of Jumièges, built by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, there are two apparently original Norman capitals in the lofty tower piers adjoining the nave, one of which would seem to be the Vine, similar to that on our font¹—the symbol so often used for the Tree of Jesse. I have therefore little hesitation in reading this face as symbolizing the Tree of Life bringing salvation to the baptized through the Incarnation.

North Face. THE VINE. The vine also is conventional, but the sacred symbol² is well known as that of Union with Christ. 'I am the Vine, ye are the branches'; and in the great Sacrament of Communion in the Eucharist, 'This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you'. The winepress, with the blood of Christ as the juice of the vine, is to be found in old painted windows in Normandy—e. g. Conches. This reading requires no further words of mine.

West Face. CROSS AND CROWN. I read these devices as a Cross of four equal arms with the Crown entwined around it; it is less pleasing artistically than the flowing designs of the east and north faces. It seems to carry on the idea of union with Christ, which involves the taking up of the Cross,

¹ When Dr. Bertin, of Brionne, Normandy, saw this font, he at once remarked that the designs were the Tree of Jesse and the Vine, symbols with which he was familiar, and implied that there was a similar font in his neighbourhood, which is the locality from which I believe our font to have come, but he could not remember the place. My husband therefore kindly changed his holiday plans in the spring of 1912, and we spent a fortnight searching for this duplicate font in that part of Normandy, but in vain, though we found several interesting ones, and the Tree of Jesse in all the churches.

² See M. and E. Marriage, *Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, p. 200; the profuse illustrations in this book, and the elucidating text giving the symbolic interpretation of the objects, afford valuable matter to lovers of art and students of iconography.

though the crown is also offered with it (but perhaps the crown is meant to represent the crown of thorns). The Cross was very appropriate for a church belonging to the Knights of Jerusalem, and in a place whence came Gilbert Montfichet, the crusader. The crown also symbolized specially the heavenly recompense for virginity,¹ and so would have special application to the knights, whose vows included one of chastity.

So this face, I think, speaks of the trials awaiting all the human race during their earthly pilgrimage, and of the Crown of Glory that is laid up for them in those Celestial Regions whence they had come 'trailing clouds of glory', and where after this life ended a glorious home of many mansions was prepared for them, where in the midst of the seven candlesticks St. John saw the Son of Man, having 'in his right hand seven stars'.

The questions, Where did the font come from? and Who gave it to the church? cannot be definitely answered, but it seems hardly likely that it was carved by any local artist; it is the work of a thoroughly skilled workman, accustomed to work stone, and none such could have been found here in those days, for no stone exists in this part of the country to supply material for the training of local handicraftsmen. The stone would have to be brought from a distance, and it would be simpler to import it ready carved,² than to bring here first the stone and then a man to carve it.

¹ P. M. Verneuil, *Dict. des Symboles*, p. 48.

² 'Les fonts baptismaux n'étaient pas toujours fabriqués sur place par des artistes locaux. Il semble au contraire bien prouvé qu'il existait certains centres de fabrications où l'on en faisait le commerce. C'était naturellement en des lieux où la pierre dure, propre à ce genre de travail, se trouvait en abondance. Les carrières de Marquise en Artois et de Tournai en Flandre, ont été à l'époque romane deux de ces centres de fabrication, et elles ont expédié leurs produits non seulement dans toutes les provinces du Nord et dans les pays voisins comme d'Angleterre, mais même dans les parties de la France d'où la distance aurait dû, semble-t-il, les écarter. Les fonts de cette provenance sont généralement faciles à reconnaître à la couleur de la pierre dont ils sont faits; elle est d'un gris foncé ou d'un bleu presque noir.'—R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, p. 703, 1912. Our font cannot have come from either of these places, as it is not of the colour of their stones.

ABBESS RODING FONT
The four stars in the earth's shadow

ABBESS RODING FONT
The eight stars

ABBESS RODING FONT
The vine

The stone is Caen stone—a stone from one of the many quarries in Normandy in the neighbourhood of the Seine. Here were rising at that time many stately churches and abbeys, stone-workers were there in abundance, and it would seem most probable that our font was quarried and carved in Normandy, then carried to the river, where it would be put upon a boat, and easily conveyed to the Thames or the Crouch by water,¹ and a short land journey would see it safely here.

It is curious that two rather similar fonts are to be found in our neighbourhood, though I can hear of no others elsewhere. At Abbess Roothing is one that has suffered much ill usage in old days: it is coated with drab-green paint, and kept together with an iron band; on two sides are the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and on the other two the Vine and Tree of Life, but no two of the sides are exactly alike. The font in the neighbouring church of Little Laver has on its four sides Sun, Moon, and Stars; the Vine; Fleur-de-Lys and Stella Maris and a duplicated pattern as at Fryerning, but a different design which I read as the Rosa Mystica in the Hortus Inclusus, i. e. the Rose of Sharon in the Enclosed Garden (Cant. ii. 1, iv. 12); these were four of the many symbols of the Virgin. In the very interesting notes on Little Laver Church in the Ongar Ruridecanal Magazine for April, 1912, Mrs. Beauchamp explains this duplicated design as Tudor roses, and so dates the font as fourteenth century²; but I think it is certainly older than that, unless it is a late copy of its neighbours, which is not very probable. The church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and I think the Rosa Mystica in the Hortus Inclusus was intentionally carved in her honour, as the cross was carved on the Fryerning font for the Knights of Malta. I also differ from Mrs. Beauchamp in her reading of the north side, taking it not to be trefoils and circles, representing the Trinity and Eternity, as she suggests, but the Fleur-de-Lys ('I am . . . the Lily of the valleys,' Cant. ii. 1), and Stella

¹ Probably Maldon, *Essex Review*, vol. xiv, p. 117.

² Probably a typographical error for sixteenth.

Maris, an interpretation of her Jewish name Miriam (or possibly *Stella non Erratica*, or Fixed Star) ; these again would be to her honour. (Possibly the raised circle may represent the wafer.) There are windows at Conches and at St. Taurin, Évreux, with the Virgin in the centre, and around her many of her symbols—Sun and Moon, ‘Electa ut Sol’, ‘pulchra ut Luna’ (Cant. vi. 10), ‘Hortus Inclusus’, ‘Specula sine macula’, ‘Stella Maris’, and too many others to mention. The Hortus Inclusus is very much the shape of the figure on the font. But I do not profess to have made a detailed study of Little Laver font, and my suggestions may not be right, for the trefoil is used as a symbol of the Trinity, and the circle for Eternity, not unfrequently.¹ The curious originality of the designs, being all so similar yet no two exactly alike, and especially all three fonts having two large stars amongst the small ones, points very strongly to their all coming from the same source.

The date of our font is about the middle or later part of the twelfth century, i. e. during Henry II's reign. Mrs. Christy suggests that it may have been given either by Margaret Montfichet or the Empress Matilda, mother of Henry II, and I think her reasons are good. Margaret Montfichet (see page 14), was connected with this place for many years; she died at the Abbey of Bec Hellouin, Normandy, which is in the heart of the stone country, and as she is reported to have given many gifts to churches and monasteries in her later days, she may well have sent the font as a present to the church in which her son was still so much interested. Or it may have been given by the Empress Matilda in gratitude for the assistance the Montfichets had given her during her wars with Stephen. The Montfichets were also connected with her by marriage. Matilda's mother was Abbess of Barking, and thus also in possession of Abbess Roothing, which would account for the similar font found there; and Little Laver was held by her son Henry II. I am much

¹ It is impossible to give the names of all the books I have consulted: my explanations are founded on fragments collected here and there from many quarters.

LITTLE LAVER FONT
Rose, hortus inclusus, and vine

LITTLE LAVER FONT
The seven planets, and lilies

influenced in my opinion that the font came from Normandy by the prevalence of symbolism there, especially the frequent use of the Tree of Jesse, as well as by the fact that the Montfichets and the Empress Matilda belonged to that country, though they were connected with our parish and neighbourhood.

I am aware that at this time the cathedrals of Rochester and Canterbury were being built, but the stone used was largely Caen stone, and the builder of Canterbury in 1174 was a Frenchman, William of Sens. The eclipse of 1178 may have suggested the idea of the stars on the font. The eclipse was supposed to have had something to do with the accident that happened to William of Sens, for shortly after it he fell from a scaffolding, 'through the vengeance of God, or spite of the devil'. There is an old square font at Springfield with different designs on the four faces, one being an interlacing pattern, and the other three variations of the Fleur-de-Lys. It does not appear to me to be by the same artist; the carving is deeper and coarser, and it is probably rather later in date, as the corners are ornamented; the base and top are modern.

At the time of Buckler's visit the Fryerning font stood in the middle of the nave, a little westward of the entrance, probably occupying its original position. At the restoration in 1870 it was moved further west, and in so small a church it may be more convenient to have it in its present position under the tower arch.

Buckler describes it as supported by a 'shaft and chamfered base, not wholly original, and partly composed of bricks'. At the restoration the four small corner columns were added, and are quite in keeping with its period.¹ They probably represent its original condition, for it had to be 'moved during the alterations, and in the course of removal portions of the original base were found, which enabled the architect to restore the original stair, and it now forms a fine and complete example of a Norman font'.²

¹ See F. Bond, *Fonts*, p. 32.

² *Chelmsford Chronicle*, June 10, 1870. This note would appear to have been communicated to the paper by the architect, Mr. F. Chancellor.

Happily our font escaped the coat of paint that covered so many of its neighbours, in obedience to the Archdeacon's directions. The Visitation Book for 1638, still preserved at Chelmsford, records the order 'that the Font stone at Blackmore be new painted'. There are several tiny crosses deeply incised, cut at a more recent date than the carving, and perhaps by some one to whom the symbolism of the Sun, Moon, and Stars was unknown and pagan.¹

The interior of the font is leaded. It was the custom in the English churches to allow the water, once hallowed, to remain in the font for a considerable time. Unfortunately this hallowed water was of great value for black magic, and so was sometimes stolen. Accordingly in 1236 the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered the fonts to be kept locked under seal because the hallowed water was used in magic.² The top of the font still bears the marks where the iron staples were fixed by which the covering was fastened and locked. The present covering is a flat loose board.

And so we leave the old font, with its riddle not altogether solved, but with a glimmering of how the artist desired it to speak of his belief that the Stars ruled the destiny of every human being, that Salvation had come by the Birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary, and purification and sustenance by the Blood of Christ in the Wine of Communion; and that all had to pass by the way of the Cross to the Crown of Righteousness that awaited them in the Celestial Regions.

The moon doth with delight
Look round her when the heavens are bare;
Waters on a starry night
Are beautiful and fair;
The sunshine is a glorious birth;
.
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

¹ Similar small crosses were cut on the bottom of the old chancel door, which is now replaced by a new one. A similar cross is cut on the east jamb of the main doorway.

² F. Bond, *Fonts*, p. 281.

INGATESTONE FONT

The present font, put in at the restoration in 1867, is quite ordinary, and calls for no particular notice. The old stone one it displaced was of some interest, being hexagonal—a not at all common shape. The shaft at the time of Buckler's visit was either missing or built round solidly from the floor, and painted stone colour. It was then hidden in a pew, and would not have attracted attention were it not for its inviting and showy wooden cover of arches and columns in Jacobean taste. The font was small, writes Miss A. Parkin, 'enclosed in a square pew, in which were little doors through which the babies were handed'. The northern superstition that the Devil gets the first child christened in a new font does not seem to prevail here, otherwise perhaps the old font might have been preserved, but it disappeared at the restoration, and its fate cannot be traced, nor that of its Jacobean covering. Perhaps the old stone bowl adorns a neighbouring rockery, or is used in some back-yard for a dog's water trough, or it may have been buried under one of the seats. Neither does the Northumbrian superstition prevail, that if boys and girls are brought together to the font, the boy must be christened first otherwise the girl gets the beard; Rector Ewer perhaps thought girls should come first, for in his register he writes, 1683: 'William first because of extreã danger and Grace born the first of two twin children of William Nevil of ffriering and Grace.' But it was probably so entered to give Grace right of priority.

CHAPTER V

BELLS AND BELL-FOUNDING

Once likewise, in the ringing of his ears,
Tho' faintly, merrily—far and far away—
He heard the pealing of his parish bells.

Enoch Arden.

WHATEVER opinion people may have of church bells in towns, few would like to see them banished from our country churches. Borne on the breeze to far and near, or gently stealing through the foggy air, they bring to all a message,

Sweetly the Sabbath bell
Steals on the ear,
That in the house of prayer,
Bids us appear.
'Children of God,' it seems
Softly to say,
'Haste to your Father's house,
Hasten to pray';

or they carry news of a happy wedding, and at last a solemn tolling for the dead. And those who have left our pleasant fields and country, and gone to seek their living in a far land, must surely sometimes think with the poor solitary :

Religion ! what treasure untold
Resides in that heavenly word !
But the sound of the church-going bell
These valleys and rocks never heard—
Never sigh'd at the sound of a knell,
Or smiled when a Sabbath appear'd—

words inspired perhaps by our own or Stock bells, where William Cowper at one time resided with the Rev. W. Unwin.

Neither of our churches can make the proud boast of their neighbour Margaretting, that they possess a complete pre-Reformation ring ; she alone of Essex churches is the happy possessor of a ring of four, untouched for nearly four hundred years ; yet our bells are sweet and pleasant to the ear.

The following information about the bells is mostly taken from that most excellent work, *The Church Bells of Essex*, by C. Deedes and H. B. Walters.¹

FRYERNING. Five bells.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1. ROBERTUS MOT ME FECIT 1590 | (26 inch.) |
| 2. JOHN THORNTON MADE ME 1716 | (28 inch.) |
| 3. ANTHONY EGLINGTON ESQ ^R . CH. WARDEN. THOS. MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1793. | (29 inch.) |
| 4. JOHN THORNTON MADE ME 1716. | (33 inch.) |
| 5. JOHN THORNTON MADE ME 1716. | (37 inch.) |

Weight of tenor 10 cwt., note A. Rehung, 1882, and again by Bowell in 1900.

The impressions of coins on John Thornton's bells are all Queen Anne's.

Morant (ii, p. 56): '5 Bells.' Muilman (i, p. 264): '4 bells.'

Treble. This is the oldest bell in either church, and was made by Robert Mot (1575-1599), the owner (probably first owner) of the famous Whitechapel foundry, which, after passing through many hands, is to-day owned by the well-known firm of Mears and Stainbank. Our bell would have been made at the old foundry in Essex Court.

The Rector at this time was the Rev. Wm. Owen, and the bell may have been given in memory of the defeat of the Spanish Armada two years before, 1588.

The 2nd, 4th, and 5th are all by John Thornton (1708-1720). Of this founder little is known, and his bells are not very numerous; but, says, Dr. Raven, 'they generally please me,' with which verdict Fryerning will agree. They were probably cast at Sudbury, where he appears to have had a foundry at Hospitaller's Yard.

The Rector at this time was the Rev. Robert D'Oyley. These bells were hung in 1716, the year of the defeat of the Old Pretender, and two years after the accession of George I; the fracas that arose between the Rector and his parishioners on their use in 1725 would rather point to their having been given for some political reason (p. 138).

¹ See pp. 7, 8, 68, 85, 89, 96, 121, 123, 135, 139, 181, 258, 305, 306, 336.

The 3rd also comes from the Whitechapel foundry, now moved to the Whitechapel Road, where it still stands at No. 34 (lately renumbered from 267). It was then owned by Thomas Mears, Senior, who had worked there with his father William Mears, and succeeded him. The name has continued in the firm ever since, though there has been no Mears in it since 1873.

The Rector then was the Rev. Richard Stubbs. There seems no public reason why this bell should have been given in 1793. It was the year of the execution of Louis XVI of France, and the declaration of war between France and England. Perhaps the churchwarden, Antony Eglinton, had had an unusually prosperous year.

Customs

Death-knell within twenty-four hours of death; tellers 3×3 and 3×2 .

On Sundays a bell at 8 a.m. for celebrations (as always in former times without service). Tenor bell rung for last five minutes before each service.

Ringling at 6 a.m. on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsunday.

A bell is rung for Vestry meetings.

There was tolling on the day of the death of Queen Victoria, and again on the death of King Edward VII. Muffled peals were rung on the days of the funerals of both sovereigns.

Peals were rung on the coronation days of Edward VII and George V.

There is no remembrance of any gleaming bell having ever been rung.

The ringers are (1912): G. W. Green (captain), J. Sitch, G. Camp, P. Sitch, A. Booty, T. Sitch, E. Barr, A. Bradley.

Several peals of Grandsire Doubles have been rung.

The churchwardens' account books, kindly lent me by Mr. G. P. Smith, record the practice of ringing on the sovereign's birthday. They do not commence earlier than 1826, but from that time they note payments made for tolling on King George IV's death, but there are no entries for

William IV's death or Queen Victoria's coronation or marriage—only birthdays 5s., and in 1861 'Clerk tolling Bell Prince Albert 2s. 6d.' 1865 'New Bell Ropes £1 5s. 6d.'

INGATESTONE. Five bells.

- Treble.* THE FOUNDER HE HAS PLAY'D HIS PART:
 WICH SHEWS HIM MASTER OF HIS ART +
 SO HANG ME WELL AND RING ME TRUE;
 AND I WILL SOUND YOUR PRAISES DUE +
 LESTER & PACK OF LONDON FECIT 1758. (29 inch.)
2. W:^M REYNOLDS & EDW:^D STOCKES C:^H WARDENS.
 LESTER AND PACK OF LONDON FECIT 1758. (31 inch.)
3. PETER HAWKES MADE ME 1610 (32 inch.)
4. RECAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS OF LONDON 1875.
 (35½ inch.)
5. MILES GRAYE MADE ME 1660 THOMAS BRASIER.
 (37 inch.)

1st, Phelps's large and small letters; the Whitechapel pattern here begins and ends with Phelps's cross. 2nd, Phelps's medium lettering. 5th, last two words in large type.

Weight of tenor, 11 cwt., note G.

Weight of new 4th, 8 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lb., note A.

Bells rehung in 1876, and again by Howell in 1900.¹ Morant (ii, p. 48): 'five bells.' Muilman (i, p. 249) the same.

The 1st and 2nd bells come from the Whitechapel foundry, then owned by Lester and Pack (1752–1769). 'With Lester', says Mr. Cocks, 'began the bad style of inscriptions', such as that found on the Ingatestone treble bell. Certainly it savours of the self-satisfied prosperous post town, and has not the pious ring of its Margaretting neighbour, 'Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum', though perhaps a little less vainglorious than the 5th bell at Chelmsford, 'At proper times our voices we will raise, In sound^s to our benefactors praise'.

The Rector at this time was the Rev. Pierce Lloyd.

3rd. This bell by Peter Hawkes (1608–1612) is interesting, as only six bells of his remain, four of which are in Essex. 'They are all inscribed in very clear black letter. At Bird-

¹ Of H. Howell and Son. 'Originally bell-hangers only, this firm took to casting church bells about 1897, and have a growing reputation. Their work seems excellent.'

brook and Ingatestone we have the figure of a bird, perhaps with reference to the founder's name. . . . So far we have no evidence to show where Hawkes resided, but he may have itinerated about the county. I suspect that he hailed from Braintree, where the name frequently occurs in the Registers.'

The Rector was the Rev. Nich. Cliffe.

4th. This bell was recast by Warner of Cripplegate; the business was founded in the eighteenth century by a Quaker known as Old John Warner; from 1788-1802 the Warners made bells, but their business was not a large one, and they dropped it for many years, resuming in 1850; since then they have enjoyed a great reputation, being especially popular in Essex, from which county Mr. Miller Christy says the family originally came.

The old 4th was originally cast by Henry Pleasant of Sudbury (1691-1707).

HENRY PLEASANT MADE ME 1701.

(35 inch.)

Pleasant is said to have come from Miles Graye, at Colchester. Twenty-three of his bells remain in Essex, besides five that have been recast (ours amongst them). H. Pleasant's bells are all inscribed in a large, plain, not ineffective type. 'As a rule these bells are not good casting, and the marks are indistinct.'

The Rector at the time of Pleasant's bell was the Rev. John Ewer, and the Rector for the recast bell the Rev. L. Parkins.

The 5th is by Miles Graye III of Colchester (1650-1686); his grandfather is described by Dr. Raven as the prince of bell-founders. Miles Graye III was born at Colchester in 1628, and in his young days travelled about in Cambridgeshire, Hunts., Herts., and Beds., to get a connexion, but in 1667 he is found at the old Colchester foundry. 157 of his bells remain, 71 of them in Essex, and the work that he did was good, though not quite equal to the best of his father's.

This bell was hung in the time of the Rev. John Willis, and the year of the Restoration of the Stuarts, 1660. As the Rector was an active member of the Commonwealth party it must have been a bitter pill to him if the bell was put up, as seems likely, in commemoration of Charles II's return. Thomas Brasier's

BLACKMORE CHURCH, FROM THE TOWER

G A J.

TOMB OF THOMAS AND MARGARET SMYTH, BLACKMORE, D. 1594

name recalls that of the old Rector, Antony Brasier, and he may have been his grandson.

Customs

Death-knell within twelve hours of death. Tellers: three for male, two for female, one for child.

A bell was tolled on the day of the death of Queen Victoria, and again for King Edward VII. Muffled peals were rung on the days of the funerals of both sovereigns.

Peals were rung on the Coronation days of Edward VII and George V.

There is no knowledge of any gleaming bell having ever been rung.

The ringers are (1912): E. Minett (Captain), G. Rogers, W. White, G. Francis, P. Minett, J. Pudney.

Old Grandsire Peals have been rung.

A note about the unlawful tolling of the passing bell will be found under Rector Brasier.

THE HYDE. INGATESTONE

There is one bell in our parishes of greater interest than any of our church bells. They have had uneventful lives, hanging and ringing always in the towers for which they were made; far different has been the fate of the little old bell now hanging at the stables of the Hyde, 250 years older than the Mot Fryerning bell.

PETRUS DE WESTON ME FECIT (14 inch; height, 17 inch.)

The earliest notice of this old founder (1336-1347) is in the city records of 1336, and his will is in existence dated 1347. The only other bell of his in Essex hangs at Fairstead, and is much larger.

This bell was evidently the Sanctus bell of some church or convent, but its history is veiled in obscurity. Tradition says that it came from Blackmore Priory, and it is quite possible that it once hung there. 'In the will of John Smyth of Blackmore (1543) among the goods at his mansion house called Smythes Hall is "Item a bell hanging over the chappell".

Mr. H. W. King suggests that this bell is the one now at the Hyde, Ingatestone.'

Smyth's Hall, Blackmore, was pulled down in 1844, and this bell may very probably have been bought then by Mr. John Disney of the Hyde, who was a great collector of antiquities—though it may have been acquired earlier by either of those other collectors, Thomas Brand Hollis or Dr. Disney, both keen antiquarians. Perhaps it hung long ago at St. Leonards, if there ever was a convent there.

BELL-FOUNDING AT INGATESTONE

As Henry Pleasant, the maker of one of the Ingatestone bells, is supposed to have been an itinerant bell-founder, it is possible he may have cast the bell here. A hundred years later some of our neighbours' bells were certainly cast here, though as the maker unkindly stamped them 'Thomas Gardiner Sudbury fecit' we do not get the credit of them.

The foundry was carried on from 1735, but no tradition of it remains, and Mr. Gardner of Ingatestone disclaims all knowledge of it. His grandfather came from Writtle early in the nineteenth century and did much casting of metal—pumps, &c. The place at present called the Maltings at the south-west end of the village is, I believe, sometimes called the Foundry, and may have been the site; but if that were the case it was curious to go so far as the Eagle, at the other end of the village, to fetch men to load the bell. Stock Lane would from that point of view seem a more likely locality. Bell Grove, to the far north-west of the parish, has also been suggested, but that name is probably far older than the bells.

It is not possible to trace many that were made here. It is only by the searching of old parish accounts that they come to light.

South Weald

THO=GARDINER SUDBURY FECIT 1737. (36 inch.)

The following extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts prove that it was cast here.

1737. Jan. 27, for carrying the third bell to Inger-			
stone	00	01	00
Spent at the Eagle to get men to lode it	00	01	00
Spent at Ingerstone to get men to get scales and			
weights	00	05	00
Apr. 28. For fetchen the bell home	00	10	00
May 30. Paid the bell-founder for casting			
the bell	19	00	00
Spent with the bell-founder about the bell	00	04	00

Great Chesterford

Here also was an Ingatestone cast bell, as seen by the note made by Mr. R. H. Browne of Stapleford Abbotts from the parish accounts :

1739. May. The fourth bell was cast at Ingatestone by Thomas Gardiner ; there were then but five bells.

This bell is no longer there, and the following tradition may explain its fate with that of its fellows. ' About 1780 it is said that the bells were taken down with a view to being sold ; this the parishoners resented, and organized gangs to watch them night and day where they were placed, in the yard of Jeremiah Hagger, a builder.' As the present ring is dated 1796 it would seem that the watchers were not successful.

Ingrave

This ring, dated 1735 and 1737, was also probably cast at Ingatestone, as it was done at the cost of Robert, Lord Petre ; it may well be that he suggested to Gardiner that Ingatestone would be a convenient place in which to do the casting, being on the main road, not far distant from Ingrave, and with plenty of wood to hand.

1. LAUDATE DEUM IN TYMPANO.
2. SANCTE NICHOLAE ORA PRO NOBIS 1737.
3. ME CLANGENTE DOMUM CONCELEBRATE DEI.
4. FUNERIBUS PLANGO MUNERIBUSQUE CANO. (Recast by J. Warner & Co., 1859.)
5. MUNERA SACRA SONO FUNERA LAETA PRECES ROB. JAC. PETRE BARO DE WRITTLE REFUNDENDA CURAVIT OPERA THO. GARDINER DE SUDBURY 1735.

'The ring was evidently put up when the two churches of Ingrave or Ging Ralph and West Horndon were pulled down and the new one erected for the two parishes. Each church had originally three bells. The second at any rate, if not the others, evidently reproduces an old inscription. The "munera" seems to be the equivalent of the modern slang word "functions".'¹

¹ *Church Bells of Essex.* See pp. 207, 307, 422.

Miller Christy.

BERNERS BRASS IN FRYERNING CHURCH

CHAPTER VI

BRASSES AT FRYERNING

THE only Brass now in either church is that in Fryerning Vestry. In the *Gentleman's History of Essex*, 1774, is the following statement :

‘ Within the chancel, upon the ground, lies a black marble grave-stone, in which is inlaid in brass the effigies of a man and woman ; and the following words written in Old English characters, upon a label, proceeding from the man’s mouth : *O God, in thee have we trusted* : from the woman’s : *Lord, let us not be confounded*. Below these effigies is the underwritten on a plate of brass ; part of which being broken off and taken away, I am obliged to give my readers in the same imperfect state : “ Here under lyeth buried the body of Leonard Berners late o Thyrde sonne and heyre of Wyllm Berners thelder esquier who deces bruary, in the yere of oure Lorde God 1563 whose soule we truste d Leonard had to wyfe Mary Theldest dawter and one of the heire Shenfylde, in the countye of Essex, esquier, by whom she had yssue William A ”

Under this inscription is the representation engraved in brass of two men dressed in the habit of Fryers, and a woman’ (vol. i, p. 264).

All that remains of this in 1913 is the figure of the wife Mary Berners, the spurred foot of Leonard Berners, and the label *Lorde lett us nott be*. Mary Berners’s brass, being a palimpsest, was mounted many years ago by Mr. William Smith, then churchwarden, and placed in the vestry ; the other fragments were picked up in the churchyard years ago by his son, Mr. G. P. Smith, now churchwarden, and preserved by him until 1904, when he presented them to the church. They are at present attached to the frame holding the figure, only unfortunately the label has been fixed over the lady to whom it does not belong. All the brasses are palimpsests, i. e. engraved on both sides. The following information is taken almost entirely from *Essex Brasses*, by Miller Christy and

W. W. Porteous,¹ and from private information kindly communicated to me by Mr. M. Christy after viewing the fragments in July 1904.

Mary Berners is cut out of an excellent brass of a hundred years earlier. It was the effigy of a widow lady *c.* 1460, attired in the usual costume worn by widows at the period, viz. a heavy veil, entirely covering the hair, but not the face; a stiffly plaited barb or wimple around her neck and falling over the shoulders, and an over-mantle above the gown, the inner side of which was probably lined with fur or other material, to imitate which the brass is cut away at the sides beneath the arms, and white metal or some kind of enamel (which has now disappeared) let in. The hands are raised in prayer, and on the fingers of the right hand a ring is represented.

It may never have been laid down, in consequence of some defect in the engraving, or it may have lain for many years upon the floor of the church. It is a legitimate speculation that the earlier design on the brass may represent some lady (probably one of the Mountneys) who was buried in the Priory Church at Thoby, but whose effigy was torn up by one of the Berners family when the Priory came into their possession, and the plate made to do duty for the wife of Leonard Berners; but it may be that the earlier effigy came from some other church altogether. The Leonard Berners brass was cut out of a much later brass than that of his wife; probably one of *c.* 1510. The reverse shows part of a civilian's dress of the period, edged with fur. The label is too fragmentary to make out the reverse at all.

The two men and one woman mentioned in the *History* were evidently the two sons, William and Antony, and the daughter. Mary Berners is represented wearing the French hood or Paris head-dress of the period, an overgown (which is girt at the waist with a sash tied in a bow) slightly slashed at the shoulders, and open down the front, where the under skirt is exposed, the edges of the gown being ornamented with bows of ribbon; round the neck and wrists are small

¹ *Essex Review*, vol. iii, p. 122.

Miller Christy.
BERNERS BRASS IN FRYERNING CHURCH

frills. The dress is sufficiently short (as was the custom at that period) to display the feet, upon which are worn ugly broad-toed shoes.

The inscription—‘ Here under lyeth ’—is quoted by Wright, *History of Essex*, 1831, as being on the south side of the Communion table,¹ and this is probably correct ; for an old parishioner who remembers the restoration believes that the brass of Leonard Berners is still on the stone, under the seat between the pulpit and altar-steps, and says that its removal from the matrix was unsuccessfully attempted at that time, but being too firmly fixed he himself was left *in situ*, and his wife placed alone in the vestry.

Holman gives the following additional information on the Berners brass :

‘ Under him are two sons, and under her one daughter. On the stone were 4 esch. near the corners in brass : but they are all gone but one at the upper corner on the left hand, on which Quarterly wth a crescent for distinction, Impaling Quarterly of 4 parts, viz. : 1 & 4 a Bend charged with 3 cinquefoils, [for Gedge,] 2 a Bend with fleur de lys [for Berdefield.] 3 Quarterly within a border ingrailed in the dexter quarter a martlet [for Hevingham.]

On the north side the Table another grey stone on which was a Man, Woman, Inscription and 4 Esceochons at the 4 Corners ; but nothing remains but the 2 Esch. at the upper End. That on the right hath the Armes of Berners, and that on the left the same Impail 3 Mullets.’

There can be no doubt that this brass also commemorated some member of the Berners family, perhaps Leonard’s father William. (For Berners’s pedigree, see Appendix A.)

Fryerning must also have contained a brass to a priest, the matrix of which is now in the porch ²

¹ He may not have visited the church, but only quoted Morant.

² The illustrations are from blocks kindly lent by Mr. Miller Christy.

CHAPTER VII

FRYERNING RECTORS

OF the earliest rectors practically nothing is known. The first name we can find is Henry de Maldon, Chaplain, 1195, probably the same Henry de Maldon who was Abbot of Beeleigh in 1209.¹

The next name we can trace is in Edward III's reign, Robert Caro, 1361, a dozen years after the cessation of the Black Death ; so it is not known whether any of our clergy were amongst the victims of that fell disease. From that date onwards we have the names of most rectors ; and at least twenty-one rectors were here between 1361 and 1580, many of whom stayed but a short time, and only three are reported as dying whilst in office here ; John Taylor 1446, Edward Thorp 1548, and two years later his successor Thomas Bradley in 1550.

This brings us to Mary's reign, when Ludowick Maddocke was presented by William Berners. Nothing remains to show what his opinions were, but like his neighbour, Sir William Petre, he must have swum with the tide, for he continued rector until his resignation in 1585, having during his last years a curate, John Clerke, to assist him. In the Archdeacon's Court, 1576, he and the churchwardens were reprimanded, for the book exhibited was insufficiently kept, and they were ordered to provide a new book by ' ffes' Pasche '. This book was probably the Register-book—for the order for baptisms, marriages, and funerals to be entered in each parish was now in force.

Randolph Hawdon, 1585–1587. *Elizabeth*. (His name does not appear in Newcourt.) In Newcourt's *Repertorium* it is stated that William Owen succeeded in June, 1587, ' per

¹ Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Nero E, vi, f. 215, xv. 3.

mort. Maddock', but he seems to be wrong. In the Archdeacon of Essex's small Visitation Book, 1579-1590, in which are written only names of clergy, churchwardens, and sidesmen. Maddocke is entered in 1583 and 1584 as rector, with J. Clerke as curate; in 1585 Maddocke is again entered, but his name and that of the churchwardens are erased, and the new churchwardens are written in, but no rector. In the large book under 1585 comes Ludowick Maddocke, *resignavit*: in the small book in 1587 under Fryerning is written *vacat*, but in April 1588 is entered 'Will: Owen Re or.' It must have been during this period that Randolph Hawdon was appointed, probably by Thomas Baker, and took up his residence, though it is possible he was never regularly instituted. Still we may fairly claim him as one of our rectors.

Randolph Hawdon's stay was short and troubled. The Reformation tide had ebbed and flowed from the days of Henry VIII to Elizabeth, and many of the Reformers were not at all satisfied with the neap tide of Elizabeth, and amongst them was our rector. Strype thus describes the state of affairs:

'The state of the Church was evidently now but in a tottering condition, both from the Papists on the one hand, and the Protestants on the other. . . . Among the Protestants there were many Ministers who undermined the present constitution of the Church by disaffecting the people's minds against the Common Prayer Book; . . . and for the more secret doing this, there were meetings in private houses upon a pretended religious account.'

In 1583 Whitgift was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and within a month of his appointment he and the bishops of his province issued orders: That all preaching, reading, catechising, and other such like exercises, in private places and families whereunto others do resort, being not of the same family, be utterly extinguished.' Other instructions, questions, and wide-reaching orders were sent out, and the clergy were required to answer them on oath 'ex-officio-mero', which obliged them to confess or accuse themselves of any criminal matter or thing, whereby they might be liable to any measure, penalty, or punishment whatsoever. Of the articles themselves Lord Burleigh wrote to Whitgift in 1584:

‘I find them so curiously penned, so ful of branches and circumstances as I think the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preyes . . . surely this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform ; . . . bear with my scribbling. I desire the peace of the Church . . . this kind of proceeding . . . is rather a device to seek offenders than to reform any.’

But Burleigh’s remonstrances were of no avail, for in October the Archbishop issued letters to the bishops of his province enjoining the ‘diligent putting in execution’ of the articles. Aylmer, Bishop of London, willingly complied, and many of his ministers were put to silence. Whilst his visitation was in progress twenty-seven Essex ministers appealed to the Privy Council for protection, amongst them ‘Rāph Hawdon’. They describe their ‘mean estate’, &c., and continue :

‘Hearing this sounded out from the God of Heaven upon every one of us, “Woe be unto me if I preach not the Gospell,” according to the measure of God’s grace we have endeavoured—to approve ourselves both to God and man. Nevertheless some of us are put to silence, and the rest living in feare, not that we have or can be charged with false doctrine or slanderous life, but that we refuse to subscribe that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordaining of Bishops Priests and Deacons, contrary to the Word of God. . . . The Apostle teacheth that he which doth doubt if he eate is condemned. Then if a man be condemned for doing a lawfull action because he is in doubt . . . and yet doth it, how much more should we incur the displeasure of the Lord and procure his wrath, . . . if we should subscribe, being certainly persuaded that there be some things in the Book contrary to His Word.’

And they continue that if their objections can be answered by the doctrines of the Sacred Bible they would willingly consent to subscribe.

The appeal was made in vain, and in Essex alone fifty ministers were silenced or deprived, with the result that Burleigh and some members of the Privy Council write to Whitgift, that many places were left without a ministry of preaching, prayers, and sacraments, the zealous and learned preachers had been suspended, and in some places their void rooms had been filled by persons notoriously unfit by lack of learning, filthiness of life, drunkenness, gamesters, against whom no proceedings were taken. Many petitions were sent

to the Privy Council, and in 1587 six suffering Essex Ministers addressed a petition to Parliament in which they declared their dutiful subjection to all lawful authority, but said that the love of God, crying day and night unto them, so far prevailed with them, that they be enforced in all quiet and peaceable manner to preach the Word of God to the people whom they serve. Amongst the six was Rāph Hawdon, Fryerning ; the others being George Gifford of Maulden ; John Huckle, Aythorp Roding ; Giles Whiting, Panfield ; William Turnstall of Much Totham, and Roger Oar. Almost all of them had been deprived for refusing to use the cross in baptism and to wear the surplice.

I have not been able to trace definitely when Hawdon was here, but the entries quoted from the Visitation Book show that it must have been in the troublous time after 1584, and the reason for his suspension or deprivation is found in the following extract, taken from 'The Second Part of a Register':¹

'Mr. Hawkdon, minister of Fryan, indicted at the assizes for omitting the crosse in baptisme, and not suffered to enter his benefice ; being presented by the patron for that he would not subscribe, and now standeth suspended for not yielding to wear the surplice, and to make the crosse in baptism.'

I cannot find whether he and his congregation were brave enough to continue preaching and hearing the Word in defiance of the bishops and the law ; it would require a good deal of courage to do so, when the penalty was either death or transportation for life.² We may regret that he could not bring himself to consent to use the cross and the surplice, but it must be remembered that the Prayer Book he was asked to accept as infallible was quite a new compilation, issued only twenty-six years previously (1559), though the prayers and the Liturgy were mostly many centuries old, and that many Papists were plotting to put Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne, and restore the old form of worship with all its superstition—which would have meant the suppression of the Bible, to which he and his followers looked as a lantern

¹ MSS. in Dr. Williams's library, Gordon Square, W.C. These MSS. were compiled by Roger Morrice, the ejected Vicar of Duffield, Derbyshire.

² 35 Eliz. 1, 2, 3, 5.

unto their feet. And he had the courage of his convictions and suffered hardship for the Truth's sake. How many of us dare do as much? In *A View of the State of the Clergy in Essex*, is found, under Maldon St. Peters, 'Mr. Hawkdon prsonne there, a diligente and sufficiente Preacher'. There can be little doubt this was the Rālp̄ Hawdon who had ministered here for a short time. One of the six ministers who had signed the appeal in 1583 was Gifford of Maldon, and it was natural that when a vacancy occurred in 1600 the patron, R. Franck, should appoint a man of similar views. According to Newcourt, Rad. Hawdon was Vicar of St. Peter's, Maldon, from 1600 till his death in 1619, and the will at Somerset House proves him to have been Randolph Hawdon: though he is described in *A View of the Clergy* as Hawkdon of Maldon. Davids, in his *Nonconformity in Essex*, describes him as Ralph Hawkdon, but I think wrongly; if Randolph Hawdon signed 'Rālp̄', as he very likely would, the mistake is easily explained. Possibly the error arose with Morrice, who wrote the 'Classis' from which Davids drew his information. The following record of his burial, from the Maldon Register, confirms my view:

1619. Hawden Vyccar. Mr. Ralphe Hawden, Vyccar of the Parisshe of All Saints and Sainct Peter in Maldon. 23 Oct.

The Rev. L. Hughes, the present Vicar, in answer to my inquiries, has kindly written as follows:

'There was a Radolphus Hawdon Vicar of All Saints with S. Peter, Maldon, 1600-1620. He was presented to the living by Richardus Franck, armiger. He seems to have been a business-like, energetic sort of man, as he carried through a complete restoration of All Saints Church, and entered all the items of expenditure at the end of the parish register. There is no monument to him in the church.'

Fryerning may well regret that he was not allowed to remain as rector here. The Registers would then have commenced many years earlier—we should have known what it cost to repair the roof of the chancel a few years later, and whether the church was then thatched or tiled, and above all, the people would have had a diligent preacher. His will I give in Appendix D.

William Owen (1587-1620). *Elizabeth, James I.* June, 1587, found our parish settled with a rector who was to remain over thirty years. The times were still troublous, and Rector Owen could have had no easy time at first. All his parishioners were bound to attend service in church under penalty of imprisonment if they were absent. The Visitation Books at Chelmsford have frequent entries of Fryerning people presented to the Archdeacon :

1589. 'John Drabwood, that he sojourneth in the p'ishe hath not received his Cōm this last Easter.' 'William Birche, for not receiving his communion in his p'ishe church this year.'

1606. 'John Byrd. For not coming to church. Alleged that he is not liable to attend or appear at the court.' 'Phillip Jorder. Alleged that he was lame.' 'George Dowsett. Alleged that he hath been sometime absent.'

Some of them were also presented for immorality. Rector Owen himself had to answer a charge of negligence :

'The chancell is decayed, the roof is uncovered so that it rayneth in, and the people cannot sit there, the barne is decayed. The church pale belonging to his house is out of reparatⁿ.'

To which John Rogers, Thomas Chalke, and John Clark alleged that they were ready to pale their parts. The uncovered roof that let in the rain was perhaps of thatch.

Like Randolph Hawdon and so many of his neighbours, Rector Owen was not very careful about wearing his surplice, for in 1591 he was presented at the Archdeacon's visitation :

'Mr. Will Owen rector, that sometimes he hath not worn the surplice, but said he never left-off upon any contempt.'¹

In 1598 this entry occurs :

'Mr. Wm. Owen, Rector, We present that an old decaid barne belonging unto the p'sonage of Fryerning being decaid and rotten before the time that Mr. Wm. Owen was p'son, and by him at divers times mended and repaired, was about fower years past, by a great and vehement tempest of wind altogether overthrown and destroyed, the timber thereof being rotten and broken.'¹

At another time it was reported: 'the windows of the chancell are out of reparacon.'

In 1589 Robert Clarke, many years churchwarden, got into

¹ Actor. Liber 38, fol. 35, A. D. 1598.

trouble for pulling down the old church porch before the new one was built. They were directed to build up a good and sufficient one in its place. Finally he reported that they had 'builded a new church porch, and after pulled down the old'.

William Owen had been appointed Rector of Hatfield Peverell by Queen Elizabeth in 1586, and he did not resign that living on his first coming here—perhaps he waited to see how he would get on with his neighbours, some of them strong Puritans and some hot Papists; but after a year's work he gave up Hatfield Peverell, and apparently devoted himself to Fryerning. The year of his coming here was that in which Mary Queen of Scots was executed; the following year he may have seen from the church tower the beacons burning on the neighbouring hills, to announce the approach of the Spanish Armada; three years later the first regular Poor Law was passed, laying new duties upon his churchwardens;¹ later came the accession of the Scottish king, James I, and the Gunpowder Plot; and the year of his death saw the landing of the first Puritan settlers at Plymouth in America.

The Archdeacon's book gives us two entries of interest as showing the practice and laws of those days. In 1587 John Petchie and his wife were summoned because they had 'kept the child unchristened for iii weeks, and that the wife had then brought her child to be baptized when she came to give thanks'. Petchie explained also that, being disappointed of a godfather for his child at the christening, it was baptized with one godfather 'as it was in p'll of death'. Mr. Owen admitted that he had baptized the child with but one godfather, contrary to law, for being a man-child it should have had two. In 1598 one of his more important parishioners, Mrs. Peter Butler, had not been churched according to the laws of the realm of England and orders appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. Mr. William Owen, rector, appeared and

¹ As overseers of the poor, they might levy a rate on land and use it: (1) to set to work indigent children and able-bodied men out of work; (2) to relieve people who could not work, and had no near relatives to support them; (3) to erect houses of correction for vagabonds, and to put out pauper children as apprentices. A. H. D. Acland, *Handbook of Political History*.

the chancell of Fryening . . . and as touching my worldly goods I doe dispose in manner and forme following Itē I will and bequeath vnto Samuel Owen Gabbot Owen and William Owen my three sonnes tenn shillings to bee payed vnto them and cuerie of them within two yeeres after I shall depart this mortall life Item I doe will and bequeath vnto Marie Owen my daughter tenn shillings to bee ..within two yeeres vnto her as aforesaid All the rest of my gods chattles cattles moueable and unmoueables with the bonds and obligacōn due unto me from Thomas Pragell or anie other person . . . my debts legacies and funerall expenses discharged I will and bequeath vnto Luce my wife whome I make my whole executrix of this my last will and testament And I doe appoint my wellbeloved friend Richard Watsonn my ouerseer I hereunto set to my hand . . . William Owen, Parson of Fryening. Sealed and deliuered in the presence of vs John Pond, Richard Watsonn.

Proved 21st June 1620. 390 Hamer, Bk.7 '

¹ Quoted in Bishop Creighton's *History of Papacy*, i. 302, 349; the rest of the passage is too strong to quote here.

Owen must have died very soon after signing his will, for almost the earliest entry in our Parish Register, No. I, is :

1620. William Owen Clarke was buried the 24th Aprill.

On one point he was evidently not careful about obeying the law : it was directed in 1538 that every parish priest should keep a register of births, marriages, and burials, to be entered up every Sunday in the presence of the churchwardens, the penalty for not doing so being 3s. 4d. A new ordinance was made in 1597, making it obligatory to write them on parchment¹ ; but no book of this period remains ; our oldest book was only commenced immediately after the death of Rector Owen, though the names of three families christened here were afterwards written up on the first page.

Robert Nutter, A.M. (1620). *James I.* This new rector succeeded in less than a month from Owen's death ; but his stay was destined to be short, for only three brief months passed before he died. Like Owen he was married, leaving a widow, Elizabeth.² I think we must owe our earliest registers to him ; there are eight entries of the two years before he came and several of 1620, all written in an excellent hand ; then the entries cease until 1627. I cannot trace his University or College.

Timothy Basill, A.M. (1620). *James I.* Basill was here so short a time that he hardly deserves to be numbered amongst our rectors, but he must be noticed as being the first rector presented by Wadham College ; accepting the living in August he vacated it in September. He took his B.A. in 1617, and was a Fellow of Wadham, and Chaplain from 1618 to 1628. He was amongst those members of the College to whom mourning was presented on the death of the foundress, Dorothy Wadham, in 1618.

William Smith, S.T.P. (1620-1630). *James I, Charles I.* September, 1620, saw Fryerning with its fourth rector since April, and the parishioners must have been quite weary of the changes, but Rector Smith was not a complete stranger, as

¹ *Essex Review*, 1897, p. 215. ² Admon, Aug. 4, 1620, V. G., fo. 171 b.

the previous year he had been appointed to Ingatestone. William Smith was a Somerset man, born in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, in 1582. He entered Exeter College in 1598, took his B.A. 1602, his M.A. 1606, and became B.D. 1606, when the following questions were proposed to him :

‘In vesperiis Gulielmi Smith. 1. An principum sit concilii generalia indicere? Aff. 2. An proprium munus sit Papæ generalibus conciliis præsidere? Neg. 3. An major sit autoritas concilii quam scripturæ? Neg.’

He was one of the original Fellows of the new College of Wadham that Dorothy Wadham, *née* Petre, was founding, and he was annually appointed sub-warden until March, 161 $\frac{6}{7}$; on the 16th of that month the Warden died, and on the 19th Mrs. Wadham appointed William Smith his successor. The old lady lived 120 miles away, but she feared the King would interfere and appoint a nominee of his own, so she hastened to fill the vacancy ere the King or her own death intervened. The document was sealed with Dorothy Wadham's version of the Petre arms, which may be seen on our own west window. In 1619 Smith took the Petre living of Ingatestone, and the following year that of Fryerning, succeeding there the chaplain of his own College, whom he may perhaps have gently compelled to resign in his favour. Neither parish can have had very much of his attention, for all the time he was Warden of Wadham, and although Mrs. Wadham gave him six months' leave of absence in 1615, when Sub-warden, he can hardly have got as much every year, and curates must have done the work; perhaps the Thomas Milward, Clerk, buried in May, 1630, may have been the curate in charge, for the next month Rector Smith resigns. In 1630 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and resigned both our livings; for two years he held that office, the Wardenship he only gave up in 1635, when he appears to have retired to the Rectory of Tredington, to which he was appointed in 1629, and he was made Prebendary of Worcester in 1638. But in the time of the Commonwealth he was deprived of his preferment, and lived

for a time in Oriel College.¹ He died in 1658, and was buried in Speechly Church, Worcestershire, where this epitaph to him remains :

Eheu quod ipsa virtus non nescit mori.
 Gulielmi hic subtus Smythi quiescit cinis,
 Summi quem coluit Judicis expectans diem.
 Tauntoniæ natus, Somersettiæ ocello,
 Qui sacræ paginæ Doctor Oxoniæ fuit,
 Dignus per biennium Vice Cancellarius,
 Et tui primus Socius, Tertium Caput
 (Collegiorum posthumum) Wadhamia.
 Annæ hic juxta positæ deinde nuptus.
 Tredingtonensis Rector fuit Ecclesiæ,
 Wigorniae Cathedralis Prebendarius,
 Utraque quem Fortuna, sed eundem videt.
 Quid, qui non possunt, Lector, effundis fletus?
 Non illum lacrymis, quod eget, luge seclum.
 Natus } ad { 1582 } 4 Octobr.
 Denatus } { 1658 } 6 Maii.

His portrait still hangs in the hall of his old College.

George Gillingham, M. A. (1630 – 1632). *Charles I.* Another Oxford man succeeded. He was educated at Pembroke College. Rector Gillingham only stayed two years, and left early in 1632; perhaps to become Chaplain to Charles I, for on the 31st March, 1633, he was inducted Rector of Chalton, and was then described as being Master of Arts and Chaplain in Ordinary to the High and Mighty Prince King Charles. Three years later he took the degree of D.D. (1636), and on November 2nd, 1639, was installed Canon of Windsor.³

He appears to have resided at Chalton, for his children were christened there, and are entered in the register of the church. Like his predecessor and successor he fared badly under the rule of the Commonwealth, being turned out by the intruder John Audley, 6th December, 1646; but, more fortunate than Smith, he came back to his old home on the

¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 681.

² *Denatus*. Thomas Cox (*Notes and Queries*, 6th series, 1883, p. 405) remarks that he has only found this word twice, once on the monument of Sir John Suckling, d. 1642; the other time on Archbishop Tillotson's.

³ Wood's *Athenae*, vol. ii, p. 493.

Restoration in 1660. After this he was created Canon of Windsor (?),¹ and appears to have again resided at Chalton, for he was buried there on the 19th of December, 1668, his wife following him to the grave on the 16th of January, 1669. A small brass to the memory of himself and his wife still remains in Chalton Church ; but it bears no long and learned epitaph like that of his predecessor, Warden Smith ; but only records their names and the dates of their deaths.

William Payton, S.T.B. (1632–1644). *Charles I.* The new rector was destined to be deprived of his living like his predecessor, Randolph Hawdon. He is described as a Gloucestershire man, coming from Hinton or Hempton,² but I can find no place of that name in the county or neighbourhood. At the age of eighteen William Payton entered Trinity College, Oxford, in October, 1607, and graduated B.A. in February, 1611½. The next year saw the completion of the new College of Wadham and the admission of its Fellows and Scholars, the last name but one on this original list being William Payton ; several of these Fellows—Smith, Basill, Willis, Payton—came to us as rectors. Payton took his M.A. in 1614, and in July, 1615, Dorothy Wadham appointed him Humanity Lecturer, and the following year Moderator of Philosophy. The keen old lady kept all the appointments in her own hands, and ruled her new College strictly, but withal kindly, for she sends £10 for the College Gaudy. In 1618 the foundress dies, and William Payton shares in the mourning clothes that were given to the Fellows and Scholars by Mrs. Wadham's will. He remained at the College for several years, holding many appointments ; Catechist 1619, Bursar 1621, 1629, Librarian 1622, 1628, 1630, Humanity Lecturer again in 1624, 1631, and became S.T.B. in 1627. Whilst still Fellow, he held the Vicarage of Southrop, Gloucestershire, which he resigned on his appointment to Fryerning. There is a note in the Wadham Chamber Book,

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. W. Hawksley Westall, Rector of Chalton, for all the later particulars. He is uncertain where this canonry was.

² The Rev. G. K. Roberts, Rector of Little Hempston, Devon, has kindly searched his registers, but finds no trace of him.

'of all such things as were given by him unto the College for the use of his successors at his Vicarage of Southrop'. At the visitation of the College in July, 1633, he was removed from among the five senior Fellows, 'till the Warden restore him'. Perhaps he was so enamoured of our parish, to which he had been appointed in 1632, that he neglected his College duties; in any case he resigned his Fellowship in November, 1633, and he certainly resided here, for he keeps the register more fully than any previous rector, and often signs it at the end of the year. All the entries in his time are made in Latin.

The life and society here must have been a curious change after the learned circle he had moved in at Oxford; but it was a less retired spot than Southrop, which he had just given up. Within an easy ride of London, and with his old College companion John Willis as Rector of Ingatestone, he cannot have been exactly dull. Party feeling on both Church and civil matters was running very high. Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and used all his influence in enforcing greater ritual in churches; Charles was issuing writs for ship-money in 1634; Convocation issued orders that the divine right of kings be declared and expounded once a quarter by every parson or preacher (1640); and Parliament retaliated by bringing in the Root and Branch Bill for the abolition of episcopacy (1641). In 1642 the two parties came to open warfare. But politics did not occupy the whole of our rector's thoughts; for he found opportunity to go courting in the neighbouring parish of Mountnessing, and in 1637 we find the entry of his marriage in our register.

1637. Nupt. fuerunt Gulielmus Payton rector hujus ecclesiae et Maria Tobington de Monysinge vicesimo nono die Augusti.

Perhaps the ceremony was performed by Rector Willis, of Ingatestone. The next year notes the baptism of his son in July.

1638. Baptizat. Gulielmus Payton filius Gulielmi Payton et Mariae uxoris eius.

For a few years the newly-married couple inhabited the old rectory, but they were not without warning of the breakers

ahead. It is easy to imagine the debates that must have arisen between the two old Wadham Fellows, as they met in the little town, or in each other's study, and discussed the topics of the day, which affected them both so closely, and upon which they held such divergent opinions. Payton would be ready to defend the Archbishop in the matter of ritual, and would willingly preach upon the divine right of kings; unlike his predecessor Hawdon, he would consent to all the doctrines of the Prayer Book, and never dream of omitting the cross in baptism, whilst Rector Willis's leanings were all the other way.

In the autumn of 1642 it was resolved in the House of Commons: 'That the government of the Church of England by Archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion and very prejudicial to the state and government of this Kingdom and this House doth resolve that the same shall be taken away.' Very shortly after this, our Bishop Juxon was deprived of his see, and our Archdeacon Layfield deposed and imprisoned.

In October, 1642, the battle of Edgehill was fought, and Charles was now at open variance with his Parliament.

'In March, 1644, Archbishop Laud was put upon his trial before the House of Lords; and being acquitted, was declared guilty of High Treason by an ordinance of Attainder, and beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10th, 1645. In the same month in which he died an Ordinance was put forth abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing the Directory in its place. In August, penalties were attached to the use of the Prayer Book, any one using it either publicly or privately was fined £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third to be liable to a year's imprisonment. Any minister not using the "Directory" was to be fined forty shillings for each offence. Meanwhile, the King from Oxford issued a counter-order commanding all ministers to continue using the Prayer Book as heretofore. In such a dilemma were the unfortunate clergy of that period involved.'¹

But it would appear that Rector Payton's danger arose sooner. In March, 1641, the House of Commons had ordered

¹ *History of Stondon Massey*, p. 77.

‘That the Committee for Scandalous Ministers do prepare and draw a bill against scandalous ministers, and present it to the House; and they are to take that into consideration which has been offered concerning commissioners to be sent into the several counties to examine scandals in ministers.’

In March, 1644, an ordinance was passed appointing committees in various counties for the purpose of investigating complaints against the then existing ministry.

‘The Essex Committee consisted of Sir Thomas Honeywood, Sir Henry Mildmay, Oliver Raymond, Richard Harlackenden, John Meade, Arthur Barnardiston, Thomas Coke, John Elliston, Robert Crane, and Henry Barrington. They had full power “to call before them all ministers within the county . . . that are scandalous in their lives or ill affected to the Parliament, or promoters of this unnatural warre, or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the ordinances of Parliament, or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence.”’

Amongst their instructions was the following:

‘VIII. You are to proceed against all ministers and schoolmasters that are scandalous in their doctrine or lives, non-resident, ignorant, or unable for the service, idle, lazy, and all that are any waies ill-affected to the Parliament, or to the proceedings thereof, expressed either by their speeches or actions. IX. To require from parishioners nomination of a successor, with good testimonials from the best-affected neighbouring gentry and county ministry, as to his sufficiency, life, conversation . . . X. To enquire the true value of every living brought in question; also the private estate of the accused, that I may know what allowance to make, on sequestration, for his wife and children.’¹

It was on these instructions that the living was sequestrated, and Rector Payton no longer allowed to officiate. On which of the points he failed to satisfy the Committee I cannot say; it was very easy for him to have expressed himself in conversation ‘any waies ill-affected to Parliament’; and that would have been sufficient to deprive him of the living. The regularity with which he kept his registers will not allow us to suppose he was one of the idle or lazy ministers.

By October, 1644, Rector Payton was superseded by William Beard, who was probably a local man. Beard may have been an excellent preacher, but his management of the

¹ T. W. Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 193, 209, 211.

rectorial income left much to be desired. The Commissioners, after considering Mr. Payton's financial position and his family, allotted him a fifth part of the income of the living. In September, 1645, Payton was making complaint to them that he had not received what was due, and they summoned William Beard and witnesses on both sides to appear before them. On the 18th, the Committee again confirm their order 'that Mr. Beard and such to whom the same is and shall be sequestred do from time to time pay the same unto him'. Even then the unhappy rector did not get paid, and in November William Butler and his wife Bridget, Richard Bannister, and Lawrence Taylor were cited to appear before the Commissioners in London, and speak to the articles they had exhibited against Mr. Beard. On November 8th the Committee authorized and appointed 'Mr. Whetcomb one of the parishioners of the said parish to be assistant to the said Mr. Baird in the sequestring, collecting,' &c. of the said tythe, and Christopher Symonds, late one of the sequestrators, was called upon for further account of his actions.¹

After this date Rector Payton disappears from view; and all efforts to trace his subsequent career, and where he died, have been in vain. He may very possibly have died during the Commonwealth time, when practically no entries were made in most registers.

William Beard, A.M. (1644-1647). *Charles I.* He was probably a local man, and perhaps came 'with good testimonials as to his sufficiency, life, and conversation,' from Rector Willis as one of 'the best-affected county ministry'. Cole describes him as A.M., but I cannot trace his academic career. He may very possibly have been the 'William Beard, son of Thomas Beard' whose name is found in the Ingatestone Register as baptized on 1st January, 1609. Beard is not an uncommon name in the old books. His term of office was not long. Appointed in 1644 or 1645, he is gone by 1647, when Samuel Smith is found as rector. His management

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15669, ff. 258, 323, 333, 394, 401; Cole MSS. xxviii. 75.

of the rectorial income had been unsatisfactory, but that alone would hardly have been sufficient to dispossess him, as Mr. P. Whetcombe had been appointed to assist him. Peter Whetcombe was steward at one time to the Petre estate, and an active man in the neighbourhood.¹

Samuel Smith (1647-1657). *Charles I, Commonwealth*. Of this minister I can gather but little. He is almost certainly the same Samuel Smith who was 'intruded' into Sandon. And it may well have been so, as both parishes are small, and within an easy ride of each other. His name appears, under Sandon, on the 'Classis' in 1648, which was a pamphlet under the title of 'The Division of the County of Essex into several classes, together with the names of the Ministers and others fit to be of each Classis, certified by the Standing Committee of that County, and approved of by the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed by Ordinances of both Houses'. It is to be noted that in this list Fryerning—called Fryarnit—has neither minister nor elder, and it must have been shortly after the issue of the Classis that Samuel Smith was appointed. He signed the Essex Testimony in 1648: 'A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Heresies and Blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them.' Later, in 1650, he is reported as 'an able preaching minister'.

Fryerning was not alone in 1648 in having no godly minister or elder to add to the list. Marget Ing had Thos. Harall as elder, but the vicar, W. Rogers, was reported as having come without consent of Parliament or parish. 'He is a constant preacher, but ill-affected to the present government.' Blackmore also has an elder, Mr. Whitstone, but no vicar, Simon Lynce having been sequestered for his scandalous life, which probably meant that he had held the two livings of Blackmore and Runwell. Mountneazing had neither rector nor elder. Stock and Buttsbury were rectorless, though Thomas Calfe was elder; and in 1650 the new intruder, Mr. Duke, does not

¹ T. W. Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 231, 267.

give the Committee satisfaction, for they find him 'a very weak and insufficient preacher'. Ingatestone alone was happy in its minister, Mr. Willis, and elder, Jont. Foard.

Mr. Smith must have found the charge of the two parishes more than he could manage, for in 1657 a new rector appears at Fryerning.¹

Intruding Rector Smith seems to have lived at Sandon; there is no trace of his presence here in any of our books, whereas in Sandon register the following long note appears:

July 8, 1657. Memorand^m That whereas Dr. Brian Walton Late Parson of Sandon gave leave to Thomas Griggs Gentleman to sett upp a pew behind the Desk as now it stands In the chancell which is and belongeth to the house of Mr. John Harrison called Mayes I doe heerby being now minister of Sandon grant and continue unto him the s^d John Harrison and the inhabitants of the s^d house called Mayes the sayd priveledg of the s^d seat as itt hath bin and is injoyed by the s^d Thomas Griggs to him y^e sayd John Harrison and the enhabitants of Mayes for ever

Wittnes my hand Samuel Smith.

On the south wall of the chancel in Sandon Church is an epitaph to Samuel Smith's wife, which runs thus:

Hic jacet almus amor, cordis solamina, castae
Deliciae, conjux dulcis, amica pia
Heer lyeth Deborah ye loving and beloved wife of
Samuel Smith Pastor of this congregation
who dyed March 27th 1647, in y^e 24th year of her
age, by whom hee had a sonne and a daughter
both buried wth her in y^e upper part
of this chancell.

Thus I am safe from warres and feares
My God hath wiped away my teares
Escap (Dear Friend) and hasten hither
In Christ wee shall bee safe together.²

The 'warres' from which she was now safe were no poetic imagery of her bereaved husband; the King and Parliament

¹ For above particulars see T. W. Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 216, 231, 267, 307, 456. In Lansdowne MS. 459, in the Register of Church livings, we find 'Fryernyng £50, besides the Homestall and Churchyard and obventions—oblations, &c. Mr. Samuel Smith is a preaching Minister.' I owe thanks to the Rev. T. G. Crippen, Memorial Hall, for this information.

² I am indebted to the Rev. J. D. Best, Rector of Sandon, for the above particulars.

were still at open warfare, and the very next year saw Sir Charles Lucas's expedition gallop through Chelmsford on its way to fatal Colchester.

It seems to me possible that on the death of his wife Smith left Sandon for a time and came to us, returning to Sandon in 1657, when John Peake was appointed to Fryerning; for it appears strange that after objecting to so many of the old rectors for being pluralists, a leading minister of the 'Testimony' should himself become one.

Rector Smith is said by Davids to have died in 1662 and been buried on the 2nd of April, but he does not say where, and I have been unable to trace him.

John Peake, A.M. (1657 – 1687). *Commonwealth, Charles II, James II.* The new Rector was no stranger to the neighbourhood. Son of Dr. Daniel Peake, Head Master of the Chelmsford Grammar School, he was destined to spend the greater part of his life in the county of Essex. His father was of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his D.D. in 1633. We find the name of Daniel Peake in the Chelmsford register as the father of several children:

July 1627. John and Benjamin twinnes, the sonnes of Mr. Daniel Peake and of Mary his wife were baptised the 7th day.

Benjamin was buried on the 14th, 'Satterday', and John must have died within the next two years, for after the birth of another son, Daniel, came a second John, about 1630, destined to be our Rector.

These two lads were educated under their father at the King Edward VI Free Grammar School, which was evidently very popular in the neighbourhood at the time. Dr. Peake, as we have seen, was an old Johnian, and it is interesting to notice in the list of admissions to the College between 1634 and 1646 the names of many Chelmsford boys; it is still more interesting to notice that they came from all classes of society, and that opportunities offered by the School were so freely made use of. I give their names below.

1634. Martin Alderson, son of J. Alderson, tallow chandler, sizar, aet. 16.
 — Robert Ogden, son of Robert Ogden, vintner (*oenopolae*), sizar, aet. 19.
 1636. Wm. Holland, son of J. Holland, tailor (*sutoris vestiarii*), sizar, aet. 16, of Woodham Ferris, schol. Chelmsford.
 1637. Walter Adamson, son of W. Adamson, brewer (*potifecis*), sizar, aet. 18.
 1639. George Pert, son of G. Pert, Esq., of Monysing, school Chelmsford for 6 years, pensioner, aet. 18.
 — Samuel Argall, son of John Argall, Esq., of Gt. Baddo, schol. Chelmsford 5 years, pensioner, aet. 18.
 — Nathaniel Seaman, son of N. Seaman, draper (*pannarii*), Chelmsford, and Schol. Chelmsford, sizar, aet. 17.
 1640. Henry Browne, son of H. Browne, Esq., Schol. Chelmsford for 4 years, pensioner, aet. 17.
 — John Cornish, son of Henry Cornish, husbandman (*agricolae*), of Much Hallingbury, Scholar Chelmsford 1½ year, sizar, 18.
 1642. Daniel Peake, son of Daniel Peak, schoolmaster (*ludi magistri*), of Chelmsford, Essex, born at Chelmsford, school Chelmsford (his father) *a primordiis literarum*; admitted pensioner, surety Mr. Wrench, 2 June, aet. 16.
 — John Lucas, son of Richard Lucas, butcher (*lani*), of Chelmsford, aet. 17.¹

No records remain to tell us whether there was any debating society in the School in those days, but there must have been many informal, and perhaps not very peaceable, discussions amongst the boys on the stirring events that were happening around them. John was still quite young when the gala day came in October, 1638, and Charles I rode through the town on his way to Moulsham Hall, to meet his mother-in-law, Marie de Medici, and escort her to London. John and his elder brother Daniel must have been among the crowd of loyal and disapproving inhabitants, who thronged the Chelmsford streets to see the unpopular Frenchwoman drive through their town with the King in his state coach, followed by their suites in other coaches and on horseback; and if boys then were like boys to-day, the School surely demanded a holiday in honour of the King's visit.

The troubled time through which the country was passing did not hinder work from going on at the School as usual.

¹ *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. 1882.

Though Charles and his Parliament had come to open warfare, Dr. Peake still kept his scholars grinding at their Latin, and in 1646 he sent John up to Cambridge to succeed his brother Daniel at St. John's College.

1646. John Peake, of Chelmsford, Essex, son of Daniel Peake, schoolmaster, (*Scholarchae*), Chelmsford. Admitted sizar, tutor Mr. Caudry, 4th July.

That year 91 new students were admitted to the College. After he left Cambridge we lose sight of John Peake for a time, but his father was still at the Grammar School, and John must have been in touch with the neighbourhood. Rector Willis, of Ingatestone, would often be over at Chelmsford as assistant to the Commissioners for the removal of scandalous ministers, and may have met John Peake on his visits there; and I think we may safely conclude that it was to Rector Willis's good offices the young man owed his appointment. In 1657 we find John Peake Rector of Fryerning in the place of that able preacher, Samuel Smith. His views were those of his neighbour at Ingatestone, and he cannot have rejoiced when Charles II was brought over to England, and the old régime started again on the King's return. The Prayer Book had been abolished by Parliament, and now Parliament hastened to bring it back again. An Act was passed making it compulsory on every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, to read the Morning and Evening Prayer appointed in the new edition of the Prayer Book, and after reading it to make a declaration of his acceptance of all its tenets. This was to be done on some Lord's Day before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662. As the altered book was only published eight days before the Act came into operation, it was impossible for any of them to have studied it, and many could not get the book at all. The living of any minister refusing to make this declaration by the given date was made void, and more than two thousand of the ministers were ejected.¹ Of our two rectors, Willis and Peake, only one had the courage of his opinions, and went into exile.

¹ Amongst them my own ancestor, Philip Henry, father of Matthew Henry.

John Peake had a wife and young family, and probably felt he would be doing God's cause more service by conforming, and so remaining here, than by making way for some, perhaps, less godly man. We rejoice that the Prayer Book was restored to us, with its grand old Liturgy, hallowed by the use of countless generations; but it is a matter of lasting regret that so many men who were the salt of the earth should have been driven out. The last century had seen many and violent changes in the Church, and at every change some of the godly were ejected, and their places often taken by men who did no good service to God or man. Baxter describes some of them as 'ignorant and drunken teachers, that sort of men who intended no more in the ministry than to say a few sermons as leaders say their common prayers, and so patch up a few good words together to talk the people asleep with on a Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with them to an ale-house'.

Rector John Peake conformed, and was left in possession of his rectory; although he and his churchwardens got into trouble before the Archdeacon at the court in 1662: 'the churchwardens suffered one Mr. Browning, an inconformist, to preach within the parish church on a Sunday in August last, both forenoon and afternoone, without reading of the Common Prayer of the Church.' To-day it seems strange that any one should object to a sermon being preached without any service being read.

Soon after his appointment to Fryerning, Rector Peake took to himself a wife; but unlike his predecessor he did not choose a local lady. This was still the Commonwealth time, and accordingly we read in the Chelmsford register:

1658. Published a contract of marriage between Mr. John Peake
Peake Minister of ffryan and Mrs. Alicia Pattenson of Maidstone
Pattenson in Kent, both single psons, the 16th, 23rd, and 30th
April.

As the entry does not end with, 'and were married the ...', I conclude that the young couple were married at the bride's home in Kent. John's marriage appears to have made his father think of matrimony again, for his first wife Mary was dead, and in August we read, again in the Chelmsford register:

1658. Published a contract of marriage between Mr. Daniell Peake,
Peake maister of the free school, widower, and Mrs. Amy Hind,
Hind single, the 6th, 13th, and 20th August, and was same day
married.

The old man's death followed ten years later :

1668. Mr. Daniell Peake, maister of the free schoole of Chelmesford,
Peake buried 9th October.¹

So John Peake and his wife Alice took up their abode in the parish, in which they were to spend the rest of their lives.

It does not appear that Rector Peake made regular entries in our register for some time ; but in 1661 we find this entry :

1661. Baptised was Mary Peake, y^e daughter of John Peake minister of ffryerning and of Alice his wife the 14th day of January, 1661.

From this time onwards the old book gives us glimpses of the family life of the good pastor at the rectory. October 1662 sees the birth of the first son, called after the Chelmsford Grammar School Master, who was still alive, but the old man did not live long enough to have his grandson under his care, having died in 1668. Another daughter was born in 1665, but life and death were playing hide-and-seek in the rectory, and the entry,

daughter

1665. Elizabeth Peake the ~~sonne~~ of John Peake minister and Alice his wife was baptised feb. 22,

is followed in October by :

Burialls. Elizabeth Peake the Daughter of Mr. Peake Minister and Alice his wife was buried October 28, 1665.

Through all these earlier years of Mr. Peake's ministry the register is written in an excellent hand, probably his own ; but the entries soon get irregular, and it is remarkable that in this Plague year of 1665 only two deaths are noticed besides that of the little Elizabeth. Did the plague not reach up here, or did the Rector and his family go away until the pestilence was over ? They could hardly have taken refuge with his

¹ I am indebted for these particulars to Canon Lake, and to the kind assistance of the Rev. J. H. Barrow.

father at Chelmsford, as the plague raged very badly there, and the deaths are known to have been numerous. It is not likely that this place escaped altogether: with the constant stream of fugitives from London passing through the village, some of the natives must have taken the infection, and perhaps they were buried in the Pest Field in Stöck Lane, beyond the old Rectory. In any case, we find but these three entries of burials that year; and as no cause of death is entered in our book at that early period, we cannot say whether the Rector's child died of the plague or not. The next year a second son was born to cheer the parents for a while:

1666. John Peake the sonne of John Peak Minister and Alice his wife was baptised July 13.

And another little Elizabeth arrived two years later:

1668. Elizabeth Peake y^e daughter of John Peake and Alice his wife was baptised December 2.

The family was not yet complete. Twins were born to the Rector in 1670, and again he finds Scripture names for them, as he does for all his children:

1670. Nathaniel Peake y^e son of John Peake, Pastour, and Alice his wife was baptized July 25.

Beniamin Peake y^e son of John Peake and Alice his wife was baptized July 25, being both born July 18.

Alice, the mother, could hardly have been present at the christening, but it is pleasant to think of these little ones baptized in that old font, with its carvings of heavenly bodies, and the Tree of Jesse, like so many hundreds of our children before and since. Little Nathaniel cannot have lived long, for in 1672 we find another entry:

1672. Nathaniel Peake the sonne of John Peake and Alice his wife was baptised Oct. 12.

This was the last of the births recorded.

The old book not only contains the official entries written by the educated Rector, and later by the careless clerk; the front page still bears the handwriting of his two eldest children. Paper and slates were scarce and costly in those old times, and great must have been the joy of the two children on

finding the registers lying about one day, with ink and pen conveniently near; finding a vacant space on the front page, they promptly wrote:

I Mary pPeake am 14 years old Jan^uary 2, 1675.
I Daniell peake am 11 years old . [date obliterated]

As I scan the old parchment, I wonder whether they were found out and chastized, or whether the father was an easy-going, lenient man, and passed over the offence without punishment. I fancy they got off lightly, for the register as kept in Mr. Peake's later days was not a book to be proud of.

In 1679 death claimed the second son, John, when he was but thirteen, and it is touching to find the father describing himself once again as 'Pastour':

1679. John Peake y^e sonne of John Peake, Pastour of ffryerning and Alice his wife was buried April 8.

Of the rest of his life we can gather little. The registers are kept, in a most slovenly and casual way; probably by the clerk. Rector Peake was not what we should count as an old man, but life was shorter then, and the troubled days of his youth may have aged him prematurely. His two sons, Daniel and Nathaniel, lived with or near him; and the following curious entry in the register may refer to Daniel's wife—if he was married:

'Young Master D's wife March 3 buried 1686.'

November of the same year saw the death of the eldest son:

1686. Daniel Peake buried Nov. 13.

And the old man did not long survive, for we find in the register:

1687. Mr. John Peake rect^r of ffryerning was buried March 5th day Ano supra script.

So ended the life of our local Rector. His wife survived him for several years, and it is not until 1698 that we find the entry of her death:

Aff. m. by Martha
Clark of ffryan

Alice Peake was buried June
y^e 16. 1698

The baptism of their two grandchildren follows later :

1700. 'Elizabeth y^e daughter of Nathaniel Peak and Eliz was born March 27th and Bapt. y^e 28th' ;

1701. 'John y^e son of Nathaniel Peak.'

After these, the name is met with no more in the Fryerning register, but the old Ingatestone book tells us that Mary Peake married Thomas Hilliard of Fryerning, and had a son Thomas, born in 1707.

CHAPTER VIII

RECTOR D'OYLEY AND HIS PARISHIONERS

Robert D'Oyley, M.A. (1688-1733). *James II, William and Mary, Anne, George I, George II.* With Mr. D'Oyley we return once more to our Oxford and Wadham rectors.

Robert D'Oyley was the son of Charles D'Oyley, of Southrop, Gloucestershire, where he was born about 1660. He was received at Wadham as a Commoner in 1676, but appears not to have come into residence until September, 1677, when he is noted in the College register as Scholar. Two years later he took his B.A., and his M.A. in 1682, becoming Fellow in 1686. Like Rector Payton, he seems to have been an active don; holding in turn most of the College appointments. Humanity Lecturer the year of his Fellowship, he became Catechist in 1687, and Dean in 1689; Bursar in 1690 and 1695; and Sub-Warden 1692.¹

He may have been an excellent and efficient don, but his great learning and his academic distinctions were rather wasted on our little country parish, though, as we shall see later, he had during the latter years of his rectorship a most learned lawyer in his parish and congregation. Robert D'Oyley was but twenty-eight when worthy Pastor Peake died, and the living of Fryerning, being vacant, was open to the acceptance of one of the Fellows of Wadham. Perhaps Robert D'Oyley accepted it because the parish was small, and could, he thought, be easily worked by a curate-in-charge. Certain it is that he had no intention of giving up College life, and devoting himself to pastoring the few sheep here in the

¹ Gardiner, *Register of Wadham*.

wilderness: even College work and Fryerning did not satisfy him in the prime of his life, for he was also at one time chaplain to Lady Elizabeth Hastings at her private chapel in Bath.

Lady Elizabeth Hastings was the daughter of the seventh Earl of Huntingdon, who met with much misfortune on the arrival of William III. Lady Elizabeth was well known in society as a person of beauty and gracefulness, full of courtesy even in her youth; her virtues were commented on in the *Tatler*, where she appears as Aspasia. She is eulogized by Steele in No. 49, where he used the well known sentence—'to love her is a liberal education'. Her brother died early, and she succeeded to her mother's property at Ledstone, Yorkshire, where she mainly resided, devoting her life and fortune to acts of charity. Many men of wisdom and piety were among her admirers, including Robert Nelson, Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, and William Law. In his *Address to Persons of Quality*, Robert Nelson applied to her the text, 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all'. William Law quotes her as a special instance of saintliness in the English Church. Her monument still remains in Ledsham Church, and the figure upon it justifies the report of her early beauty.¹

To this distinguished lady Rector D'Oyley was at one time chaplain. His patroness had Stuart leanings, and believed in the divine right of kings, with which her chaplain sympathized. There still remains in the British Museum one of his sermons preached in Lady Hastings's private chapel at Bath.² It is printed on most excellent paper, with grand margins and the best of type, and in it he exhorts his hearers to submit to princes and their commands, however wicked they might seem to be. It was preached, apparently, in answer to one by the noted Bishop Hoadley, who had declared the doctrine of resistance lawful. Mr. D'Oyley's sermon is full of Scripture quotations, and extracts from classic authors. It

¹ The above is largely based on the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² *Providence Vindicated*.

was the golden age of preaching, and our Rector, with his learning, can have made no mean show amongst his contemporaries.

In the select chapel of Lady Hastings at Bath, Rector D'Oyley was a preacher of the doctrine of non-resistance to princes, but that was in the days of Good Queen Anne; his sympathies were not so warm towards the new Hanoverian prince. In 1725 the bells were still a comparatively new toy, and the ringers were evidently prepared to ring them oftener and earlier than the Rector approved of, disturbing the peace and quiet of the Rectory. Therefore he gave instructions they should not be rung till after the end of the service, and great was his indignation one August Sunday morning, on being awakened at six o'clock by a merry peal, rung to commemorate the accession of the Hanoverian George. Later in the day he made the following entry in his register :

'August 1st, 1725. The Rector of this parish having ordered that there should be no ringing on Sundays or holidays before Divine Service appointed for the day was ended, Wm. Flint, who keeps a pub^c house in the town, did this morning about six of the clock lead in a gang of six or seven fellows to ring (it being Sunday and also the day of y^e King's being proclaimed) having in an undue manner possessed himself of the keys of y^e church. And the Clerk having found means to bolt y^e doors on y^e inside, one of y^e said fellows did by y^e said flints orders break y^e wall and so got it open for him.'

What further steps the Rector took he does not tell us—whether he had the offenders up before the magistrates, or contented himself with a strong sermon on the duty of obedience to the clergy and a severe personal reprimand to Mr. flint of the public-house.

On the erection of the new organ in 1908 an interesting discovery was made, for on removing the old instrument, which stood close up to the wall, a rough hole penetrating the wall to the outside was found, just large enough for a man to squeeze through, and filled up with rubble in a rough-and-ready way. This may quite possibly have been the hole made by the orders of William flint, as it is on the north side of the church and out of sight of road and footpath.

A Fellow of his College and a very learned man, Mr. D'Oyley was frequently called upon to preach elsewhere than in his little country parish. The sermons most thought of in his time were masterpieces of learning, full of Bible knowledge and of literary eloquence; written in the purest English, with copious Greek and Latin quotations, they appealed to the mind and intellect, but not to the emotions. Besides the sermons preached before Lady Elizabeth, there remains another volume of our Rector's discourses,¹ in which is one preached before the University of Oxford, full not only of Latin and Greek, but of references to the Fathers, the Targum, modern travel, and exploration in the Holy Land.

For many years this learned man was Rector of Fryerning, sometimes resident, sometimes absent, taking an interest in the children's singing in church, preaching, we will hope, rather less learned sermons to the country congregation, and levying meanwhile very heavy, and sometimes excessive and illegal, tithes upon the simple tithe-payers of his parish.

But at the end of his time came one to trouble Mr. D'Oyley in the person of Charles Hornby, a lawyer holding an important post as Secondary in the Pipe Office in London. Charles Hornby bought much property in the parish—Huskards and Howletts Hall, amongst others—and much land round the present Furze Hall, then called Kamps or Knaps or Gad's Green, altering the old buildings, and practically building much of the existing house, to which he gave the name of Furze Hall, and where on its completion he spent much of his time. To this man controversy was as the breath of his life. He published a virulent and spicy attack upon Dugdale for some errors he had found in the *Baronage*,² and though he says 'this employment is far from giving me any pleasure', his pamphlet gives the lie to his statement. To a man with these tastes it must have been a real joy to find himself settled in a parish where the Rector was, in a lawyer's eyes, breaking the law by declining to pay Poor Rate, Constable's Rate, Highway Rate,

¹ *Four Dissertations*, 1728.

² 'Three Letters containing remarks on some of the numberless Errors and Defects in Dugdale's *Baronage*,' 1738.

Churchwardens' Rate for repair of Church and keeping churchyard, and Maimed Soldiers' Rate, and by exacting unjust tithes; and Mr. Hornby could justify himself for attacking the parson by the thought that he was not taking up the cudgels so much on his own behalf as on that of his poor and unlearned neighbours. So he forthwith writes a pamphlet, 'A Letter to the Rector of Fryerning on his refusing to pay his rates to the Parish Assessments', and he plants on his title-page the following startling text from the Epistle to the Romans (ii. 21, 22), 'Thou which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, doest thou steal?' and a quotation from Ovid:

Pudet haec opprobria vobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse repelli.

Every bit as learned as the Rector in the Bible and the Fathers, he had the further advantage of having the great Selden's law-books on tithes at his finger-ends, and Acts of Parliament, Charters of Canterbury and Winchester, legal cases and decisions, new and old, to fling at the offender's head, and he plunged into his task *con amore*. He begins with bitter reproaches against the clergy generally for evading so often the payment of dues and exacting more than just tithes of their parishioners, and then comes nearer home, Mr. D'Oyley himself being evidently meant by this paragraph:

'One you know, for whom you have a singular Respect, who forced from one of his Parishioners three Lambs for the Tithe of one and twenty, from another two Pigs out of eleven, . . . one whose servant took two Ducks for the Tithe of fifteen because his Master had some friends to dine with him. You also know a poor Widow left in very desolate circumstances, who, not being able to pay the Sum demanded for the Tithe of her Garden, was threatened by the same Parson with the Loss of her Bed from under her, unless her Friends would raise the Sum. Can you think this was charitable; or can you, with all your Learning and Eloquence, vindicate the Honesty of him who by, in plain English, a knavish Variation of Acquittances, imposed upon an ignorant Tenant, broke through an ancient *Modus* upon the endowment of an Almshouse, and committed a sacrilegious Robbery upon God and the Poor under the threadbare mask of the Good of the Church?'

He then proceeds to argue in the same plain-spoken fashion on the iniquity of the clergy in general in avoiding the payment of rates, and his own parson in particular, and quotes Scripture, Selden, and legal cases with the greatest freedom, winding up with a quotation from an Act (26) of Henry VIII, and then ends with :

‘Thus was the saddle laid and girted upon the right horse, and with this memento I subscribe myself yours as you deserve. C. H.’

Apart from the purely local interest of the controversy, it gives us a lively picture of the difficulties that must often have arisen between Rector and tithe-payer in the fair apportionment of tithes—not an easy matter with hay and corn standing in the fields, but exceedingly difficult in the matter of livestock, and undoubtedly giving rise to many hardships in the case of small tithe-payers, who had no knowledge of law, nor any money with which to fight against unjust levies and extortion. Happily the commutation of tithes no longer gives the parson’s man an opportunity of fleecing the flock; and if the present occupier of Furze Hall is not so learned, nor the present Rector so familiar with the Targum, as were their predecessors, at least they live in greater amity.

But I think an echo of the ducks still remains. Every three years the Bursar, accompanied by the Warden or one of the Fellows of Wadham, processes through the College property, examining the farms and receiving the rents; in former days they were armed with a blunderbuss and horse-pistols, which weapons are still preserved in the College, though no longer carried round. When here they were put up by the tenant of Fryerning Hall, who had to provide ducks and green peas for their fare.¹ Was it not likely that the Bursar came to the Rectory in Mr. D’Oyley’s time, and that it was to provide the Wadham dons’ dinner that the ducks were unlawfully tithed? Mr. Willis, the late tenant, kept up the practice till he left in 1906, and Mr. Millbank, of Moor Hall Farm, still provides them, I believe.

The Registers were irregularly kept in Rector D’Oyley’s

¹ Thanks for information to the present Bursar, Dr. Dixey.

time, and do not offer any certain indication as to how often he resided here. He does not seem to have been married, for there is no mention of wife or child in the old books or in his will; but the following entry may refer to a brother or some relative, for D'Oyley is not a common name:

1701. 'James son of James D'Oyley and Mary his wife baptised.'

And again the Ingatestone register records:

1704. 'July 15. Mary wife of James D'Oyley buried.'

During his rectorship many changes passed over the country; but they passed more quietly than those of the time of Rectors Payton and Peake. October, 1688, which saw Robert D'Oyley Rector of Fryerning, also saw William of Orange start for England, where he and Mary were shortly declared King and Queen. On the death of Anne, the Hanoverian dynasty was called to the throne—which can hardly have been pleasing to the Rector, with his strong leaning to the extreme doctrine of the divine right of kings. As an old man, he must have heard of the young Wesleys' Society, started in his University of Oxford, 'for the purpose of religious improvement, living by rule, and the reception of the Lord's Supper weekly'—a movement that gave great pleasure at first to his patroness.

This learned Rector may not have been always resident, yet he must have cared somewhat for the parish, as in his time three bells were added to the one that had been placed in the tower in Rector Owen's time; the silver-gilt Communion plate that is still in use was also presented and purchased; and last, if not least, it must have been his encouragement that induced George Hilliard to train the children to sing God's praises in the church.

He was Rector longer than any other Rector we can trace; for forty-five years he had charge of the souls in this parish. In 1733 he was called to give account of his rectorship, and is buried in Southrop, the village where Rector Payton had commenced his ministry.

In his will Rector D'Oyley gave instructions, 'In the name of the Holy and ever Blessed Trinity', that his body was to

be put into a plain coffin and buried in South Repps, 'by the grave of my dear Father and laid at his ffoot, and that the place be not distinguished by Monument or Gravestone of any kind, and further that my funeral be managed without the needless expense of Gloves and Mourning except to my Brother and Sister'. But a plentiful distribution of bread was to be made to the 'poor in Southrepps, out of which six poor men the fittest objects of charity are to carry me to my grave for which service I appoint that they receive each ten shillings'.

He gave strict instructions that his library should be locked and sealed upon his death, and that his good and trusty friend, Mr. Robert Gosling, of Alder Street, was alone to have admission into it, until he had burnt all Mr. D'Oyley's letters, sermons, and other papers and books in his handwriting, except account-books, bonded bills, and such-like, and his library was to be sent to London to be sold. He gave five guineas to 'George Hilliard of Ingatestone for instructing the youth of my parish in Psalmody, which I desire him to continue', and twenty shillings a year to Fryerning, to be spent in buying bread to be given to the poorest, and those with largest families.

He left £4 a year to Margaret Roding for a schoolmaster to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also twenty shillings yearly to be distributed in bread, and as at Fryerning the bread was to be given to the poorest and those with largest families.

Then he proceeded to distribute the pictures out of 'my great parlour' (was it in our Rectory?), and thereby we gather that he had many learned and legal friends. First, he leaves the picture of the late Earl and Countess of Huntingdon to the present Earl, i.e. the portrait of the seventh Earl, Lady Elizabeth's father, and probably her stepmother, to her half-brother, the ninth Earl, husband of Selina, the well-known foundress of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.¹ Two portraits of judges, not named, he leaves to the Right Honour-

¹ I cannot trace these portraits. The present Earl, and also the Duke of Norfolk, have kindly replied to my inquiries, that they have no present knowledge of them.

able Chief Justice Eyre; those of Mr. Chaffing and Mr. Whitlock to his honourable kinsman, Sir John D'Oyley of Chisholm; 'Christ discovering himself at Emmaus' to the Honourable Mr. Baron Comyns, his neighbour at Writtle.¹

He left rings, as was the fashion at that time and for a century later, to Chief Justice Eyre; Baron Comyns; to Mr. Serjeant Comyns, and Mr. John Birch, both of Writtle; to the Rev. Thomas Cox, Rector of Stock; and to Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, of Doctors' Commons. The latter was a man of unusual academic and legal career; educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and afterwards Fellow of All Souls, he went to the Bar, being Admiralty Advocate 1702-14, and King's Advocate 1715-27, at the same time being Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Thomas Cox was also Vicar of Broomfield. He died the following year, and was succeeded at Broomfield by Morant, who thus describes him:

'He was a man of considerable learning, and great industry and application. He translated from the French Dupin's Life of Christ and His Apostles; . . . from the Latin, Pancirollus of Things Lost, 2 vols. 12mo; from the Greek, Plutarch's Morals, by way of abstract; and he compiled the Lives of Henry IV, V, VI, and Richard III in the Complete History of England: Magna Britannia and Hibernia. 6 vols. 4to.'

So our Rector passed away, and lies in distant Southrop Church, with no stone to show where he lies in the nave, only a note in the Southrop register to say that he is buried there.²

What effect the pamphlet had upon the Rector I know not, but the year after its publication saw him dead. Whether Charles Hornby got on better with Mr. D'Oyley's successors I cannot say, only it is evident that curates did the work here, and the Rectors rarely resided; to what further use Mr. Hornby put his learning there is little record. Often he must have passed up and down our road on his way to and from his London office, where perhaps he spent Government time in

¹ W. Comyns Clifton, Esq., a descendant of the Chief Baron, writes that the picture did not descend to his branch of the family—though he possesses some of the Baron's circuit papers, with his clerk's account-book containing entries of 'tips' to servants of local gentry, who sent gifts of game or venison to the Judges' Lodgings during Assize time.

² Thanks to the Rev. C. E. Squire, Southrop.

studying Selden and Acts of Parliament for his amusement. His leisure was spent here in improving his property and rebuilding old cottages; and to him probably the present residents of Furze Hall owe the hornbeam avenue which is one of the greatest charms of the old garden.

His wife was Alice, second daughter of Sir Robert Hatton, second son of Robert Hatton, Serjeant-at-law.¹ She died May 4th, 1736, and is buried in the chancel of Fryerning Church.

Another six years, and the lawyer was called upon to lay down his learned pen, and his body lies in the chancel of our church, but the restoration of 1870 has obliterated all trace of his gravestone. His will, 'written in mine own hand on this half-sheet of paper', gives us a last glimpse of one whom Lowndes describes as a sour pedant, but whom the inhabitants of Fryerning must have welcomed as a useful check upon the grasping Rector.

Like Mr. D'Oyley, he leaves something for the poor of Fryerning, and gives instructions that his funeral expenses should not be excessive nor exceed £20; but for all the pious remarks with which he begins his will, a note of asperity runs through it—'that small share of worldly goods and estate that it has pleased the Divine Providence to intrust to my power, and which might have been much greater had I esteemed them more, or had my regard been more centred on myself'; yet he shows an affection for the house he had built, and divides his property fairly among his nephews and nieces. To his niece Elizabeth, who had kept house for him, he left Furze Hall and the furniture, the copper and brazing vessels, 100 oz. of plate, and £300 to enable her to keep up Furze Hall, he not being willing that it should be stripped and its goods demolished; but he evidently thought little of her learning, for he directs all his books and pictures to be sold, and he leaves to 'Joseph Hornby, who I am ashamed to call my brother', the sum of £16 yearly to be paid at the quarterly feasts.

¹ Morant, vol. i, p. 231.

CHAPTER IX

FRYERNING RECTORS, 1733-1913

John Leaves, M.A. (1733-1753). *George II.* Rector Leaves was the son of John Leaves, of Crewkerne, Somerset, gent. At the age of seventeen he matriculated at Oxford and entered Wadham College in 1709. He was elected Scholar 1712, took his B.A. 1713, M.A. 1717, and was elected Fellow 1718, Humanity Lecturer 1719, 1721, Dean 1720, 1725, 1727, Librarian 1723, Catechist 1724, 1728, 1732, Bursar 1726, Sub-Warden 1729, 1730, 1731. On November 23, 1723, he was nominated to Hockley Vicarage, but resigned it in the same year. Fryerning was offered him upon the death of Mr. D'Oyley. In 1733 he accepted the living, but does not seem to have resided here. The registers are fairly kept for his first few years.

All that we can learn about him is contained in the Wadham Register and his will. In this—'being, as I trust, in my right state of mind, mindful of my mortality'—he leaves the rents of his leasehold property at Ashburton, Devon, value £14 15s. a year, to his niece Mary Rowe, wife of William Rowe, Attorney of Ashburton; he leaves no other legacies, nor mentions other property, but expects to make a codicil, and ends—'but I pray God I never may revoke or alter my will with regard to this good purpose towards her'.

John Blake, M.A. (1753-1782). *George II, George III.* Rector Blake was one of the few Rectors who have been sons of clergymen. He was the son of John Blake, of Curry Rivel, Somerset, Clerk. He entered Wadham College in 1734, aged 18; received first as a servitor, he was awarded the Goodridge Exhibition in 1735, and again in 1740, and the Somerset Scholarship in 1737; he took his B.A. 1738 and

M.A. 1740, and was elected Probationary Fellow 1744, and Fellow 1747, Moderator of Philosophy 1746, Librarian 1747. On Rector Leaves's death in 1753 Blake was appointed to Fryerning, but he could never have resided. He vacated his Fellowship in June, 1755, when he probably married, for at his death in 1782 he left a widow, Eleanor.

In 1754 he went to Staple Fitzpaine, as Curate, or perhaps Perpetual Curate, and resided there until his death. But according to the almost universal custom of the day, Mr. Blake was not satisfied with the one living of Fryerning, but applied for, and was presented to, the Vicarage of Eastwood, near Southend, in 1766; but Eastwood had no more of his ministrations than Fryerning.

During his rectorship the registers are very badly kept at times. At first he had as curate George Kelly, who wrote up the books in a most haphazard way—very few entries, and often not in proper order. Curate Kelly jotted items down on any scrap of paper to hand, and copied them into the registers either at his leisure or not at all. Some of them he left in one of the books, written on the back of an unreceipted bill, which runs as follows:

The Rent Mr. Kelly.
1758. Oct. y^e 6.

Dr. to Wm. Farrington.

	£	s.	d.
for Bear	0	13	9
for Drinking at times	0	6	6
for Dowling the Fences	0	4	0
for keeping your horse	0	18	0
for keeping your bay horse	0	7	6
? for a pair of Slipors	0	3	6
	£ 2	13	3

Curate Kelly, the frequenter of inns, departed after a time, and his work was undertaken by Pierce Lloyd, the excellent Rector of Ingatestone. Pierce Lloyd wrote up the registers as far as he was able, gave the parish a service every Sunday, and the Sacraments four times a year. He had here about ten communicants, and he catechized the children in Lent. He reported to the Bishop's secretary that the 'Parish is

so intermixt with Ingatestone, that the separate extent of it cannot be easily determined. It comprehends about 185 Houses. Here is a benefaction to the poor of 20s p^r ann^ũ which is distributed in Bread, but no Chapel, School, or Alms-houses.' Value of living, £100.¹

On the death of Mr. Pierce Lloyd, came careless times again; the Curate, the Rev. Mr. Scott, neglected his registers, and incurred the displeasure of Jno. Jenner, D.D., Curate, who succeeded him. Jenner's neat hand continues in our register beyond Rector Blake's time, and does not cease until 1787 (later we find him at Ingatestone).

In the meantime our Rector was ministering to souls in Staple Fitzpaine, Somerset, marrying, burying, and preaching to them. He appears to have officiated as curate there, and preached twice a year at Brickenhall (joined to Staple Fitzpaine some three hundred years). There, at Staple Fitzpaine, he died, and was buried February 26, 1782.²

His will remains, in which he left legacies to his sister, nieces, and servants, and the residue to his widow Eleanor—'except my manuscript sermons, all which manuscript sermons, I hereby strictly charge and command to be burnt as soon as possible after I am dead'. None of them, alas, had been preached here.

Rector Blake signed his will, but as he neglected to have witnesses to attest his signature the widow had some trouble in proving it, and John North, yeoman, of Staple Fitzpaine, had to make a long affidavit that the will was in the handwriting of deceased, with which he was well acquainted.

Richard Stubbs, D.D. (1783–1810). *George III.* Richard Stubbs is the only Rector we can trace as coming from the North; he was son of Robert Stubbs, gent., of Lorton in Cumberland. Going to Wadham College in 1763 at the age of seventeen, the next year he received the Goodridge Exhibition, previously held by his predecessor John Blake, and also

¹ Guildhall MS. 481, p. 64.

² My thanks for information to the Rev. F. E. Corte, Staple Fitzpaine.

the Hody Exhibition for Hebrew. B.A. in 1767, he took his M.A. 1770, proceeded to the B.D. degree in 1782, and the D.D. in 1783, the year of his arrival at Fryerning. Stubbs was at Wadham during the latter part of the dark days of the College; the numbers were very small, only two admissions being made the year before he came up, so it is probable that the receiving of the Goodridge and Hody Exhibitions did not betoken so much virtue or hard work as they would do to-day. Richard Stubbs was admitted Fellow in 1770, but he seems to have been one of those of whom Wells says: 'Non-residence of Fellows became frequent. The duties of the College offices were continually discharged not by their actual holders but by deputies, and all things were weakly administered and disorderly.'¹ For in December, 1773, the Warden removed his name from the list of Fellows² as being an absentee; he was at that time usher in the Haberdashers' School at Monmouth. But Stubbs did not approve of this reduction of his income, and appealed to the Visitor, who, on hearing his case on April 21, 1775, declared the deprivation to be invalid, and the Warden on the same day announced that he accepted the Visitor's decision. The acceptance, however, did not last long, for Stubbs seems to have been unpopular, and the authorities put their heads together, with the result that in October the Warden again removed Richard Stubbs's name from the list of Fellows, only this time under Clause 1 and not Clause 2 of Chapter xviii of the Statutes; but later on Stubbs again triumphed over the Warden, and was restored by the Visitor in June, 1777.

In January, 1783, he was recommended by the Bishop of London for the living of Fryerning, which had lapsed to the Bishop by the non-appointment of a new Rector by the College. Perhaps feeling was still too bitter against Stubbs for the College to be willing to appoint him in the usual way: in any case, the living was offered him by the Bishop and accepted, and here he passed many useful years.

With a comfortable house and a fair country living, Rector

¹ J. Wells, *Wadham College*, p. 133.

² R. B. Gardiner, *Register of Wadham College*, vol. ii, p. 115.

Stubbs now married a lady whose acquaintance he must have made while Master at the Monmouth School: on July 1, 1783, he and Miss Pleasance Bullock, of Monmouthshire, entered into the holy estate of matrimony. It seems doubtful whether he resided here at first. Later on he certainly did, but where he passed his first years of rectorship I cannot say. None of his three children was christened at Fryerning, but when he finally took up his abode here he made the following very curious entry in the register:

‘As three of the children of Richard Stubbs Rector of Fryerning by Pleasant his wife were neither born nor registered in this parish he has judged it necessary to make the following memorandum to which they may refer.

Pleasant Sybil, born the 23rd of June, 1784, in the Parish of St. Oswald in the City of Chester, was baptized in Chester and christened and registered at Monmouth.

Sarah, born the 3rd of October, 1785, in the parish of St. Oswald in the City of Chester, was baptized at Chester, and christened and registered at Ilminster, Somersetshire.

Richard, born the 17th Feb. 1787, in the parish of Ilminster, was christened and registered at Ilminster, Somersetshire.’

In the baptismal register of St. Oswald’s, Chester, is the following entry:

‘Pleasant Sibyl, daughter of the Rev^d Dr Stubs and Pleasant his wife.’

From the above entries it would almost appear that he was resident first at Chester and then at Ilminster for a time, possibly undertaking pedagogic duties.

The distinction between the child being baptized and christened is a very curious one for a Doctor of Divinity to make: perhaps the infant was privately baptized, as was so much the fashion about that time, and the christening indicates its reception in church.

Dr. Stubbs would appear from the registers to have been rather a fussy and perhaps pedantic man, but it is refreshing to find a Rector once more taking an interest in them, and keeping them properly. At the end of the burials in 1793 comes this note:

‘At a vestry meeting holden the third day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, it was resolved that the

burials from and after the twenty-ninth day of September should be entered in a Book of parchment lately purchased for that purpose.

R. STUBBS, RECTOR.'

And a further entry records another parish resolution, that the old paper copy, 'entered upon very bad common writing paper, which will most likely not be legible fifty years hence' should be transcribed into a book of parchment, and

'shall be collated and compared with the original and signed by the Minister, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants of the said parish, and that the original shall be faithfully preserved in the parish chest. Signed Richard Stubbs, Rector. Antony Eglinton, Churchwarden. Joshua Wall, Churchwarden. John Garnish, Overseer. John Bread, Overseer. Chris: Cusack, Inhabitant. James Dauson, Inhabitant. George Hampshire, Inhabitant. Wm Whichcord, V[estry] Clerk. Benjamin Hogg, Constable.'

Unfortunately, the ink used in the new book is so bad the entries are less legible than in the original. The registers throughout Dr. Stubbs's time are better and more fully kept than ever before. Like many of the clergy at that time he was a pluralist, and held the living of Eastwood, near Southend, from 1781 until his death. He may have been there at times, but the places are too far apart for him to have worked both: and he and his successor, Dr. Michell, contented themselves with drawing the income and putting in a curate to do the work; but in justice to these two absentee Rectors let it be recorded that the registers at Eastwood are well kept during those years, and the curates seem to have been efficient.¹

During part of his rectorship Dr. Stubbs also undertook the charge of Blackmore, which at that time had no regular Vicar. For some time he had as curate the Rev. W. E. Farrell, who lived at the Cottage, Fryerning (now the residence of Mrs. Rose), and with his help it was of course easy to serve Blackmore.

Of Dr. Stubbs's North-country kindred I can find no information. The late Bishop of Oxford wrote that he was not related to him.² But there is a pleasant description of the village from whence he came in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*.

¹ Thanks for information to the Rev. F. Boyd Johnston.

² Thanks for information to the Rev. W. L. Petrie, Vicar of Blackmore

'LORTON. All is simplicity and repose. No lakes, no rocks, to blend the ideas of dignity and grandeur with that of beauty. Mountains rise on each side and a fruitful vale lies between. A little river in a rocky channel, pours down in sparkling cascades. The village of Lorton is well built, but the houses are too near to each other. Yew trees flourish in High Lorton; there is one of surprising size, spreading its branches on every side to a great distance, covering with its shade above 300 feet.'¹

Did the memory of this great tree make Rector Stubbs think small things of the yews in our own churchyard, and long for more shade there? and was it to meet this desire that Churchwarden Perry planted those Scotch firs whose beauty to-day is a source of such delight to us?² May present and future churchwardens guard them well, and save them from the wicked and insidious ivy which is ever seeking to throttle them.

Dr. Stubbs kept a boys' school in addition to his clerical duties.

'Upon an eminent space of land, that is seen on the left, at entering Ingatestone, is the pleasant hamlet of Friering, where is a neat church and respectable seminary for youth, directed by the Rev Dr Stubbs.'³

Whether in the rectory or some other house the writer does not say. With the three livings and his school, his hands and his head must have been more than full.

Rector Stubbs is sometimes credited with being the 'Editor' of Peter Muilman's *Gentleman's History of Essex*, which was published in 1770, and Mr. E. A. Fitch, in his article on 'Historians of Essex', seems to support this theory. He says:⁴

'In the Rev John Sperling's "Coats of Arms in Essex Churches", under Debden, we read (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1857, pt. ii, p. 425): "A monument to Peter Muilman, Esq., merchant of Kirby Hall, in the parish of Great Yeldham . . . He was, in conjunction with the Rev. — Stubbs, the writer of the *Gentleman's History of Essex* . . . published at Chelmsford in 1770." Of this explicit statement I can find no confirmation . . . The various addresses of "The Editor to the Reader" all end with appeals for fresh, or correcting late information, "to be addressed by letter to the Editor left at Mr. Hassall's, Chelmsford." This would seem to point to somebody residing in the neighbourhood of the county town. The Rev. Richard Stubbs may

¹ *Hist. Cum.* ii. 125. ² See page 209.

³ *The Intelligent Traveller through Essex.* (1806?)

⁴ *Essex Review*, 1899, p. 26.

have been curate somewhere in the Fryerning and Chelmsford district ; in point of date he seems to be a likely man (graduating in 1767 and being then about 21) to have done the hackwork for Muilman, whilst waiting to take priest's orders.'

It is possible that Richard Stubbs may have done the hackwork before he became a Fellow of Wadham, but I do not think that it is very likely that he was curate in the neighbourhood, as the traces we have of him before he became Rector are all on the other side of England.

It would seem that the Rev. John Stubbs, of Queen's College, whose library was sold in 1772, was more probably that important person, 'The Editor'.

The old parish accounts have all disappeared, otherwise we might have discovered whether the high pews were erected in Dr. Stubbs's time. The third bell certainly was hung during his ministry, for it bears the date 1793, and the name of Antony Eglinton, the churchwarden.

In January, 1810, his assistant, the Rev. Walter Farrell, died ; in the following December Rector Stubbs also died, and on January 1, 1811, was laid to rest 'beneath the altar' of our little church. Two of his children are buried here, his infant son Robert, and his daughter Charlotte. Twenty years later his widow died, December 1, 1830, and was buried here.

The great Napoleonic war was, in Dr. Stubbs's time, bringing many soldiers and militiamen from distant counties to be his parishioners for the time being. In his rectorship also comes the last entry in our register of a burial in woollen.

1804 March, Robert Perry, Affid. of wool.

The first was in 1680, Susanna Wiseman's child, Sarah.

Dr. Stubbs has left no trace behind as to what were his views on religious and political questions, but we cannot feel otherwise than grateful to him for being a pastor who once more resided amongst his flock.

Walter Edward Farrell, Curate (17—?-1809).

'1809. The Rev W. E. Farrell died Dec. 27th in the 59th year of his age. He was half-brother to Sir William Skeffington Bart. of Skeffington Hall, Leicester, and late of Queens' College, Cambridge. He was lineally descended from the Princes of Annely in Ireland.

He has left a widow and an only daughter by a former wife to lament the loss of an excellent man and a sincere christian.'

So runs the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of Dr. Stubbs's curate. Walter Edward Farrell was grandson of William Farrell, of Chester, who was born in College Green, Dublin, in 1689, of the ancient and honourable family of Farrell, originally from co. Connaught, and descended from the princes of Annaly, whose arms they have borne from time immemorial. This William Farrell married Elizabeth Skeffington, who on the death of her brothers inherited the estate of Skeffington, Leicestershire, which had been in the possession of this distinguished family since the time of Richard I, and by her he had a son, William Farrell, jun., father of our Walter Edward. William, jun., married firstly Mary, daughter of Richard Arnold; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Gibbons, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., and relict of William Dent, Esq., by whom he had one son, Walter Edward. Elizabeth died in 1769, and is buried at Sunninghill, where the Farrells had a residence. There, in the old house at Skeffington, Walter Edward was brought up with his half-brother, William Charles, and here he married Jane Reeve of that parish, by whom he had one daughter, Ann. After his first wife's death he married Sarah Kelke. Mr. Farrell must have felt himself at home here amongst the fine old timber, for he came from a woodland district.

'The drawing-room of Skeffington Hall, which measures 32 ft. x 23 ft., is said to have been floored and wainscoated by one oak, which grew in Skeffington wood. Whether this be an actual circumstance or not, the report in the country is now so prevalent, that strangers and travellers passing frequently request permission to see this extraordinary room; no board of which hath a joint in it. The above relation merits the greatest credit, having been handed down to posterity for near 200 years, and the floor remains perfect and entire.'¹

After many years of faithful service here, he died in December, 1809, one year before his Rector. He lies buried on the south side of the churchyard, in a small enclosure,

¹ Wm. Betham, *Baronetage of England*, 1804, vol. iv, p. 201.

where are also buried his daughter Ann, his widow, and also Mrs. Susannah Chaplain and her son Lieut. G. R. Kelk, R.N., probably mother and brother of Mrs. Farrell. Mr. Farrell's tombstone is one of the very few with a coat-of-arms upon it, and it is much to be desired that the authorities would give instructions that the stone be always kept free from the ivy, which may be pretty, but is very destructive to these old stones, which often throw light upon our parish history. The arms on his tombstone are especially interesting, as they are the arms of the princes of Annaly—'Vert, a lion rampant, or.'¹

Richard Michell, D.D. (1811–1826). *George III, George IV.* Like so many of our rectors, Richard Michell was a West-countryman. Son of John Michell, gent., of Totnes in Devon, he was educated at St. Paul's School, admitted on the Foundation 1779. In 1784, when he was eighteen, he went to Wadham as Scholar, held the Hody (Hebrew) Exhibition 1785–1792, took his B.A. 1788, M.A. 1793, B.D. 1804, and D.D. 1811. Elected Prob. Fellow in 1792, and Fellow in 1793, he spent many years in the service of his College, holding almost all its posts in turn—Sub-Dean 1792, Humanity Lecturer 1793–4, 1797, 1798, Dean 1795, 1796, Bursar 1799, 1800, 1805–10, Sub-Warden 1801–4, Librarian 1801, and Will's Divinity Lecturer 1806–8. Appointed to Fryerning in 1811, he resigned his Fellowship and College offices, and settled down in our quiet country parish, where he must have felt rather out of place at first. He became Vicar of Eastwood in 1810, and held both livings until his death at the age of 59.

Whilst Dr. Michell was Rector here the great Napoleonic war was ended, with all its excitement. But with peace abroad came much unrest at home, and the country was greatly divided on the momentous question whether the Roman Catholics

¹ Arms : Vert, a lion rampant, or. Crest: on a ducal coronet a greyhound courant, with a broken chain to the collar round his neck, over that a regal crown proper. Supporters: two otters, proper. Motto: *Cu re bu*; in English, 'I have broken my hold.' Betham, *Baronetage of England*, iv. 201. Skeffington arms : Argent, 3 bulls' heads erased, sable, two and one. Crest: a mermaid proper, comb, mirror, and fins, or.

should be freed from the disabilities under which they laboured. Dr. Michell had no doubt that they should not, and the proximity of the old Roman Catholic family of the Petres, and the fact that many of his neighbours were Romanists, did not move him to support their cause. On the contrary, he addressed an open letter to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, giving his reasons why matters should rest as they were. He seemed greatly annoyed that some of the Bishops and clergy should be in favour of Emancipation, and amongst them Reginald Heber, just appointed to Calcutta. He objects to any innovations, and gives a pleasing description of the Church :

‘ Adopting the example, and adhering to the precepts of its heavenly Founder, the Church of England embraces all mankind in the bonds of universal benevolence ; it pardons the errors of judgment, sympathises with the weakness, and even remits the faults, of those who secede from its communion. It harbours no uncharitable animosity, no rancorous hatred, no uncandid wish, against those who deny its authority or abandon its profession.’

And then he continues :

‘ Still it imports us as an indispensable, and in these times indeed, an awful duty, to be jealous and vigilant, to be undaunted in guarding the rights and immunities of our Church, and in defending its doctrine and discipline as well against the attacks of infidelity and scepticism, as the scorn of innovation, the moroseness and rapacity of schismatics, and the wily superstition of the Church of Rome. There lurks beneath a fatal and a superstitious reservation of duty which they imagine they owe to an authority paramount to that of their country—to the infallible dictates, and the despotic injunctions of a religious Sovereign, the obedience to whose opinions or commands they consider as superseding all civil and moral duties, and the sacred obligations of allegiance and patriotism.’

Finishing abruptly with the Roman Catholic question, he passes on in the same breath to commend Lord Liverpool for a recent appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's. It had lately been held by the Bishop of Lincoln, Geo. Pretyman Tomline, who was non-resident, and it had since been given to the Bishop of Llandaff, W. Van Mildert, on condition that he resided at the Deanery, and Dr. Michell hopes to see an improvement in the condition of things in the Cathedral.

'The shameless neglect of that church, prior to the appointment of the Bishop of Llandaff; the slovenly performance of the service, the total indifference to everything but the exaction of paltry fees from the visitors, savoured more of a common shew-place, than the temple of public worship.¹ As you well knew, that a sense of duty, and the force of conscience, had little influence even over a mitred head, you demanded from the mitred successor, a residence, which common justice and common decency imperatively required.'

But our Rector never seems to give a thought as to what will happen to the diocese of Llandaff with its Bishop absent, and though he disapproves of non-residence strongly, the title-page of his pamphlet shows him to have been at that very time a pluralist, 'Rector of Fryerning, and Vicar of Eastwood', twenty miles away, near Southend.

Then he ends his letter with a suggestion that the Prime Minister should take steps to make it illegal for a man to be ordained who had not at least taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, or been examined for the degree of Bachelor of Laws at Oxford or Cambridge. With some hesitation he admits this might cause a difficulty in providing clergy for Wales and the North of England, so he suggests that for those districts the qualifications should be waived, but the men so ordained should be disqualified from ever holding preferment elsewhere.

The thirty pages of his letter read like the effusion of a narrow pedant, and display none of the vigour and learning of his predecessor, Mr. D'Oyley, and would be even less acceptable to the modern congregation. But peace be to his ashes.

He does not seem to have married. He died here January 1, 1826, and is buried under a high square tomb on the south side of the churchyard, near Curate Farrell and Rector Price.

George Price, M.A. (1826-1861). *George IV, William IV, Victoria*. With Rector Price we leave the West for a while.

¹ The scene in St. Paul's on the occasion of the death of the Princess Charlotte justified Dr. Michell's remarks. The congregation breaking the glass of the choir screen, the Lord Mayor from the organ-loft saying there would be a service, followed by the organist saying there would be none, and the clamouring of the people who 'had paid for their seats', may be read of in *The Life of the Princess Charlotte*, by D. M^oL., p. 546.

He was the son of the Rev. Ralph Price, Rector of Lyminge, Kent (d. 1811), and Albinia his wife (d. 1827). George Price matriculated at Oxford in 1798, and was admitted Scholar of Wadham in 1799, and became a Somerscale Exhibitioner in 1801. He took his B.A. 1802, and M.A. 1808. Elected Prob. Fellow 1803, Fellow 1804, he was Sub-Dean 1804-6, 1818, Librarian 1809-17, 1821-6, Humanity Lecturer 1819, 1820, but he sometimes had deputies to do his work. On the death of Dr. Michell the living was offered to him, and accepted, and for over thirty years he ministered to the parish of Fryerning.

Rector George Price is still well remembered by the older inhabitants, and must have been a man of much force of character, and a welcome change to the parishioners after the wordy Dr. Michell. But he seems to have shared his predecessor's objections to the Roman Catholics, for he makes this curious annotation in the register of 1833 on the marriage of Joseph Cook and Ann White :

‘This couple was married many years back by a Roman Catholic Priest in Ireland, the woman being a Roman Catholic’—

recalling the brutal Irish law which provided that every marriage celebrated by a Catholic priest between a Catholic and a Protestant should be null, and that the priest who officiated should be hanged.¹ He also marks R.C. against several notices of death.

Many were the changes he saw in his time ; the passing of the old stage coach and the coming of the railway with its first station in Stock Lane, to approach which it was necessary to descend a steep flight of steps, down which Rector Price, when old and infirm, would ride on his old grey pony. In those days too he would be drawn into church in his bath-chair, and fiercely scan the congregation to see who was absent. And bitter were the tears some of the children shed after service, when the distribution of bread was made, for if no satisfactory answer was forthcoming to the old man's searching query,

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 152 ; 23 Geo. II, c. 10.

‘Why is your father not here? Why was he drunk on such a day?’ no loaf was given them to take home.

And the church was well kept in his time, for A. Suckling in 1846 writes:

‘Too much commendation cannot be passed upon the Rev. Geo. Price the present incumbent, the Churchwardens and all concerned in the management of this Church, for the very neat and reputable manner in which it is kept.’

Mr. Price was the last Rector to receive tithes in kind, and the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 put an end to the friction, that was often great, between Rector and tithe-payer. The opinion of the parson and the farmer as to the weather did not always coincide; for they were supposed to cart at the same time, the Rector’s cart picking up the tenth sheaf of corn or the tenth cock of hay, whilst the farmer took the other nine; there was much heart-burning if the Rector came when it was too damp, or did not appear when it was quite fine, and much squabbling as to the little heaps of hay and small sheaves of corn that the farmer naturally wished the Rector to be contented with. All this was happily ended by the Act, and the old tithe-barns of both rectories, once crowded with corn, have disappeared.

Mr. Price also saw the diocese of London divided in 1845, and Essex handed over to the Bishop of Rochester, thereby severing the connexion that had for so many centuries existed between our parishes and the Bishop of London.

Rector Price had at one time the Rev. Felix Palmer¹ as his curate, who married Miss Tindal Atkinson, of Huskards. This lady was of such beautiful countenance, and so fine a figure, that she was drawn as Britannia for the medal struck to commemorate the Great Exhibition of 1851.

In his time there lived at the Rectory Cottage a widow lady who kept a large number of tame monkeys as her companions. On fine days these would be chained outside the cottage to tall poles, with bars for them to clamber upon and a perch at the

¹ Felix W. Palmer may have been the F. Palmer, son of Philip Palmer, of St. Martin’s, Westminster, who entered Wadham in 1840, but migrated to Brasenose, from whence he took his B.A. 1844. He took his M.A. 1847, and died in 1865.

top, and many were the people who came from far and near to see them.

Mr. Price was not married, but for many years his sister Mary lived with him; she was a great sufferer, as is noted by the text in the window to her memory. The Rector is still remembered as a short, stout, white-haired old gentleman.

Rector Price's ways were not those of modern parsons. One bitter Sunday morning, with the snow thick upon the ground, he called his man and said, 'Go up to the church and see who's there'; so Read went and brought back word. 'Go again,' said the Rector, 'and tell them to come down here and have a glass of beer, and warm themselves.' Yet withal he has left a pleasant memory. 'He was a good man.' If he was rough at times, 'people did not mind him. He was all sweet inside.' Truly a character worth having.

On May 9, 1861, his long life came to a close; full of days and honour, if not of riches, he was borne to his grave in our churchyard, where he lies by his sister, to the south of Curate Farrell, with only two humble little stones bearing their initials and the date of death to mark their resting-place. But the memory of the just is blessed.

Henry Weare Blandford, M.A., (1861-1870). *Victoria.* Again a West-countryman comes to our Essex parish. Rector Blandford was the eldest son of H. W. Blandford, Esq., and was born at Weston Bampfylde, Somerset, in 1825. He was educated at King's School, Bruton. Admitted to Wadham in 1843 at the age of eighteen, he was elected Scholar in 1844, taking a Third Class Lit. Hum. 1847, and elected Fellow in 1851, proceeding to his M.A. in 1854. Like so many of our rectors, he was no mean scholar, and held most of the College prizes in turn, Goodridge Exhibition in 1844, 1846, 1847, Maddox Exhibition 1845, Hody (Greek) Exhibition 1847, 1848, Librarian 1858-59.

On Rector Price's death in 1861 he was appointed to Fryerning; marrying the same year he vacated his Fellowship. He had as neighbour active Rector Parkin, of Ingatestone, whose example he followed in matters of church restoration.

The old barrel-organ was converted into a manual, and in 1869 the serious work of church restoration was commenced. But he did not live to see the fruit of his labours, for he was called away suddenly while the works were yet in progress. Like Rector D'Oyley, his body was taken to the home of his childhood, and he lies at Weston Bampfylde, among his kindred.

Edward Cockey, M.A. (1870–1880). *Victoria*. Rector Cockey also came from the West. Son of Edward Cockey, Esq., he was born at Frome Selwood, Somerset. At the age of seventeen he was admitted Scholar of Wadham in 1826, was awarded the Goodridge Exhibition 1827, Hody (Greek) Exhibition 1827–31, Maddox Exhibition 1828, Somerscales Exhibition 1830. He gained a First Class in Mathematics and a Second Class in Lit. Hum. in 1830, taking his B.A. 1830 and M.A. 1834. For several years he remained at Wadham filling various offices—Fellow in 1831, he was Humanity Lecturer 1833–5, 1836, Deputy Librarian 1833–45, Bursar 1834–7, 1845, Deputy Sub-Dean 1838–45, Public Examiner 1837–8, Select Preacher, 1843. In 1846 he accepted the living of Hockleigh, and married, resigning his Fellowship. In 1849 he became Rural Dean of Rochford; but this and the living of Hockleigh he vacated when appointed to Fryerning in 1870. His arms are in the window of the ante-chapel of Wadham: Argent, a chevron between 3 eagles' heads erased Gules, on a canton Azure an anchor Or. He arrived to find the work of restoration in the church far advanced, and saw the accomplishment of the work inaugurated by Rector Blandford, when the church was reopened in June, 1870, amid the rejoicings of the inhabitants.

In his time the then owner of the Grange, Fryerning, tried to close the footpath running from the Tiles to Beggar Hill. Rector Cockey, and perhaps even more his sons, joined heartily in the vigorous efforts of the parishioners to prevent this infringement of their rights, which happily were successful. May all such efforts be attended by a like success.

He was not spared to the parish for a long ministry, but

passed away on August 7, 1880, regretted by his parishioners. He lies amongst his people, near the porch.

Frederick Tufnell, M.A. (1880-1902). *Victoria, Edward VII.* With Rector Tufnell we once again have an Essex rector. He was the eldest son of the Rev. George Tufnell, who at one time took duty at Ingatestone, but was living at Springfield, Essex, at the time of Frederick's birth. In 1839, at the age of seventeen, our future Rector was elected Scholar of Wadham. Like so many of his predecessors he held the Goodridge Exhibition, 1840-3, was Maddox Exhibitioner 1843, Third Class Lit. Hum. 1843, B.A. the same year, M.A. 1849, and Sub-Dean 1848-50. From 1848 to 1851 he was Incumbent of Baulking, Berks.; St. Paul's, Edinburgh, 1851-8; St. Paul's, Marylebone, 1872-4; Rector of Merston, Sussex, 1874, of Ogbourne St. Andrew, 1875, presented to Fryerning by Wadham College 1880, and resigned 1902.

He had at one time apparently been destined for the Law, as we find him entered as student of the Inner Temple, 1842.

Mr. Tufnell's fine presence and beautiful reading are still often spoken of, and his Bible sermons. Unhappily, during his last years here his sight went, and his duty had to be taken by curates, not all of them very satisfactory, until Mr. Earle took the responsibility, and worked the two parishes with a curate under him.

Rector Tufnell married Frances Anne D'Aeth, and after her death in February 1902, he retired and lived at St. Leonards, Sussex, where he died, October 27, 1909. .

William Joseph House, M.A. (1902). *Edward VII, George V.* Of our present Rector it behoves us to speak but little. Son of Mr. J. House, he was born at Abingdon, Berks. He gained the Lambert Jones Scholarship in the City of London School. He left there in 1889 and entered Wadham College, Oxford, as Symond Exhibitioner. First Class in Classical Moderations, 1891, and First Class Lit. Hum. 1893, he took his B.A. 1894, M.A. 1896. He was ordained Deacon in 1896, and Priest 1897. The early years of his

ministry were passed at St. Anne's, Limehouse, where he was curate 1896-1902. During his residence there he took an active part in local municipal affairs, being a member of the first Stepney Borough Council, 1900-3. In 1902 he was presented by Wadham to Fryerning, and in 1908 the Bishop of St. Albans appointed him Rural Dean of Barstable. Thanks to his efforts, a parish-room has been built at Fryerning, and a new organ put into the church—both very much wanted by the parish. He married in 1904 Gertrude A. Bilton, daughter of Mr. A. Bilton, of Liverpool, and thereby gained a helpmeet for the parish as well as for himself.

CHAPTER X

INGATESTONE RECTORS

OF the early Ingatestone Rectors nothing is known but their names and the dates of their appointment, and of their resignation or death. They were all appointed by the Abbess and Convent of Barking. Henry Golde, who came in Henry VIII's reign, is the first of whom we know anything.

Henry Golde (Gould), S.T.B. (1537-1539). *Henry VIII.* Rector Golde must have been a person of importance, as, like his successor Antony Brasier, he was Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. To this fellowship he was appointed in 1519. He took his B.A. the same year, B.Gramm. 1521, and M.A. 1522. Rector of St. Mary Aldermary 1526, and Vicar of Hayes 1529, he came to Essex in 1534 as Vicar of Horndon-on-the-Hill, and three years later was appointed by the Abbess of Barking to Ingatestone, 1537, the year in which he took his S.T.B. In the Oxford Historical Society's *Transactions*, vol. i, it is suggested that he was the same person as the Father Gould, or Golde, who was involved in the Nun of Kent affair,¹ but that seems hardly probable. Froude says that all the five friars who had instigated and abetted her were convicted and executed with her in 1534; and even if Golde had received a pardon, which does not appear to have been the case, the Abbess would hardly have ventured to appoint him to Ingatestone, where Henry must often have been, on his way to and from Jericho at Blackmore; though perhaps, as Anne Boleyn had fallen and been executed, the King may have forgotten and forgiven the plot against his marriage with Anne and allowed the late plotter's appointment.

¹ The Nun of Kent was a religious but hysterical girl who had visions during an illness. She fell into the hands of some of the clergy, who treated her as a prophetess, and by their suggestions she prophesied

John Green (1539–1556). *Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary.* Of this Rector I can find nothing; like his neighbour Sir William Petre, he trimmed his sails well in that most uneasy time, and died here, still Rector, in 1556. He was the first Rector not appointed by Barking Abbey.

John Woodward, M.A. (1556–1566). *Mary, Elizabeth.* Rector Woodward was the first Rector to be appointed by the Petre family. Coming here in the time of Mary, he was an attached adherent of the old form of worship, and on her death refused to conform to the reforms that were restored by Elizabeth. For some time he remained Rector, doubtless to the satisfaction of Sir W. Petre, who evidently at heart was more of a Papist than a Protestant; but after the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity under Archbishop Parker in 1564, Rector Woodward resigned and retired to Ingatestone Hall, where for a time he ministered to his patron. Later, he is said to have gone to Antwerp and died there.¹

Antony Brasier, M.A. (1566–1609). *Elizabeth, James I.* Antony Brasier was an Oxford man, B.A. 1552, M.A. 1556, Fellow of All Souls College. He was appointed Vicar of Mountnessing, and presented to the Rectory of Ingatestone by Sir W. Petre in 1566. In 1570 he was made Canon of Salisbury. For a time he had as curate Humphrey Davies, who was appointed by John Petre to Mountnessing in 1605, when Brasier resigned. There are many entries relating to his family in the registers.

1570. Aug. 16. Margaret Brasier bapt.

1578. xxv die Julii bapt: Anna Brasier filia Antonii Brasier.

1582. Nov. 18. Maria Brasier bapt.

various calamities that would befall Henry and Anne Boleyn if they married. The calamities not arriving, they then plotted to restore Queen Katherine and the Princess Mary to their proper positions, and on the failure of their plot they were arrested, together with the Nun, and executed; a Father Golde was amongst these clergy. See J. A. Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i, p. 312; vol. ii, pp. 55, 57, 95.

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. R. Grant, of the Hall, for this information.

The entries in the registers were made in Latin, and the books are in the main well kept.

Rector Brasier lived in anxious times, for the Church had not yet settled down after the Reformation, and the Archdeacon paid constant visits to the parish to inquire into the moral and religious behaviour of the inhabitants, for whom the Rector was responsible.

1591. Uxor Roger Chandler.		She is Excom ^t .
Anna Deacon.		Similiter.
John Richmond and Margaret, servant at the		
sign of the 'Swan'.		Similiter.
Peter Sawell et	} Incont. ante nuptias.	
Eliz Lepingwell		
John Reinolds.	Incont. ante nuptias.	

To acknowledge their culpa before Mr Brasier
Rec^t Ingatestone.

This would mean public penance in church. It was well that the man should suffer the same public disgrace as the woman for their mutual sin ; the moral tone of to-day on such matters is far less creditable to a nation calling itself Christian. Sometimes the case was not proved, but the accusation was entered all the same in the Archdeacon's book.

Nicol Rawlyn	} of Ingatestone
Maria Wall		} negat Factum.

Many people were presented to the Archdeacon for not receiving the Communion, and sometimes is entered such a notice as this :

1597. John Sedcole for gleaning on the Saboth Day.

A few years previously, a neighbour at Fryerning had offended in the same way :

1587. Anne Smythe for making hay on the Sabaoth Day and for abusing the Churchwardens.

And in 1590 William Butt was charged :

'He carryed poultry on the Saboth day in service time. Alleged that he hath sometime after he hath drived on the Saboth Daie, he carryed some poultry to his poulter, but looseth not service but on another time upon necessary occasion : to pay xiijs. to the use of the poor.'

In 1590, five of Rector Brasier's parishioners were charged that—

‘they withheld such sum of money as they are rated to pay towards the reparacion of the church—they said they were poor, but if they shall hereafter be of better wealth they will pay the dues to the church. Ann ffoel was charged with being malicious, contentious and uncharitable, and discourteous to Edward Tabor's wife.’

The question in the Marriage Service, ‘Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?’ was no mere form in those days, as Thomas Mattrise found to his cost when called to account for giving the wife of Gilbert Thuckwraye in marriage to William Freeman, a sawyer, her husband being alive. The unlawful tolling of the passing-bell was also inquired into in 1597, when Richard Swetman was presented as being the author of disorder in our town. As the result of a drunken brawl, one of his friends was knocked down, and was apparently unconscious and without any breath, so next morning Swetman caused the bell to be tolled for him. It does not appear that Swetman made out a very good case for himself, as he was ordered to stand forth on the following Sunday and confess his sorrow.

Some of his non-communicating flock the Rector of Fryerning had the pleasure of seeing back again in 1579 :

‘Christopher Dodd Ser^{vt} Robt Perkins now receiveth the Euchst.
Grace Smith gentlewoman now receiveth the Euchst.’

In 1586 Rector Brasier found himself reported to the Privy Council by their Commissioners (see Fryerning, Rector Hawdon, p. 112); fortunately in his case it was no charge of immoral life or lack of service, but a complaint that he held the two livings of Ingatestone and Mountnessing.¹ But also, alas! he ‘was an unprofitable preacher, and also held a prebendship in Southwell in Nottinghamshire, as is crediblie reported’.²

The preaching of the monthly and quarterly sermons must have been a burden on many of the elder men, who had not been brought up to consider preaching as any part of their duties; but the congregations were often insistent, as at

¹ Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 79, 81, 99, 105.

² *View of the Clergy in Essex*. This may be a confusion with Salisbury.

Buttsbury in 1597, where Mr. Simons was complained of, and excused himself on the ground that he was neither parson nor vicar, and therefore not bound to preach the same.¹ Buttsbury was not joined to Ingatestone till a later date. The Buttsbury people seem to have been rather troublesome to deal with, for in 1627 Robert Beard, thatcher, was presented for wilful opposition and contention in the parish, and refusing to sit in a convenient seat appointed him by the churchwardens with the consent of the minister and the other chief people of the parish. Nine years later, Judith Reeve, of Buttsbury, caused great commotion at Stock Church by intruding into a pew where she was not wanted, to the great disturbance and dislike of the congregation. And in 1615, Percival Scott, who seems to have kept a public-house, was charged with suffering disordered (drunken ?) persons in his house on the Sabbath, and defended himself on the ground that there were only two persons, and that they had only arrived when Evening Prayer was almost ended, that they had had no drink in his house, and that he himself was at Evening Prayer at that time. Poor landlord!

Rector Brasier's duties as Canon of Salisbury would cause him to be absent at times, and we find Humphrey Davies curate-in-charge at the Visitation in 1605; shortly afterwards Davies was appointed Vicar of Mountnessing on the resignation of Mr. Brasier.

In the funeral register is entered:

1598. Item decimo septimo die Novembris sepultus fuit Joh^{es} Deacon.

On the first page of the first register-book are some Latin lines, signed at the bottom by the Curate:

1598 die 27 Novembris
 Vita caduca vale pcul² o pcul accipe servum
 qui venit in domino. vita caduca vale
 Vita pennis³ ave pcul o pcul accipe servum
 qui venit in domino. Vita pennis ave.
 p me Humphredum Davies

¹ For almost all the notes about the presentations before the Archdeacon I am indebted to the very useful transcripts made by Mr. R. H. Browne, of Stapleford Abbots, to whom my thanks.

² *Procul* = far away. ³ *Perennis*.

‘Poor stuff, with tags’, says Canon Tancock, who has kindly deciphered it for me, and given the following translation :

Fleeting life, farewell ! far, O far, receive the servant
Who comes ‘in the Lord’—fleeting life, farewell !
Eternal Life, hail thou ! far, O far, receive the servant
Who comes ‘in the Lord’—Hail, Life Eternal !

—‘far, O far’ meaning apparently ‘O Thou who art far away in Heaven’.

In 1609 Rector Brasier died :

‘Item the 23rd daye of October was buried Antony Brasier Clarke. Anno dñi 1609.’

His widow was buried the following March :

‘Jane Brasier wydow was buried March 3 160⁹/₁₀.’

And his daughter Mary two years later, in 1611.

The name of Brasier is still well known in the place, and the Rector’s descendants can be found in many entries in the registers. Thomas Brasier’s name still remains upon the bell presented in 1660.

Nicholas Cliffe, S.T.B. (1609–1619). *James I.* The Cliffes were a Devonshire family, and came to London and to Ingatestone with the Petres. John Cliffe, Esq., Clerk of the Signet from Henry VIII to Elizabeth’s time, was buried in the church in 1588, aged 70, and Nicholas Cliffe may probably be his grandson or great-nephew. It would appear that our Rector was the Nicholas Cliffe mentioned in Foster’s *Alumni Oxonienses*, for the Petres were much connected with Exeter College, where Sir William founded several Fellowships, and our Rector was presented to this living by John Petre. ‘Nicholas Cliffe Fellow of Exeter 1568–84. Rector of Maiden Newton 1586.’ From 1591 we can trace him with certainty ; in that year he was presented to West Horndon, and held the living till his death. Like most men at that period who had any influence, he was not satisfied with one living, but in 1609 was presented to Ingatestone, where some of his relatives were living, notably John Cliffe, junr., whose three sons—John, Thomas, and Edward—all went to Wadham between 1616 and 1624. Not satisfied with these two livings, Rector Cliffe

also acquired West Tilbury in 1616, being presented to it by the Crown. Here he succeeded William Laud, the great Archbishop, who had resigned the living on his appointment as Dean of Gloucester by the King.¹ Rector Cliffe must have been an old man by this time, and it is strange he should have been willing to incur the charge of a third parish. He did not enjoy his new honours for long, as in 1619 he died. In the year 1616, no less than forty-six of his parishioners here died. I cannot find that there was any special epidemic that year.

The registers were fairly kept in his time, but they contain no notice of his death. In 1621 we read:

1621. Mistress Elizabeth Cliffe was buried 23 July.

William Smith, S.T.P. (1619–1630). *James I, Charles I.* Rector Smith held this living with Fryerning, and is described under Fryerning Rectors. He was clearly non-resident. The registers are badly kept at first. Towards the end of his time he had, as curate, John Shrigleigh, afterwards Vicar of Margaretting. The registers were then better kept. Perhaps Mr. Shrigleigh was 'our minister' who tried to reform John Browne in 1624, who had not received his Communion at Easter though often admonished, was dissolute and impudent in his answers, setting Minister and Churchwardens at naught. John Jenkins was giving trouble at the same time, and depraved and abused our minister when he reprovved him for his drunkenness.

John Willis, M.A. (1630–1662). *Charles I, Commonwealth, Charles II.* Of Rector Willis's family we know nothing. He is entered in the Wadham books as of Somerset, and we may safely infer that he was one of the many young West country men who were befriended by Dorothy Wadham in her new college at Oxford. He subscribed the Articles in June, 1614,

¹ Wood's *Athenae*. Laud exchanged North Kilworth for West Tilbury, Essex, in order that he might be near his patron the Bishop of Rochester, 1609. In 1616 the King gave him the Deanery of Gloucester, and he then resigned West Tilbury, and was succeeded by Nich. Cliffe, S.T.B.

and was apparently at once elected Scholar. He took his B.A. in 1616 and M.A. in 1620.

Mrs. Wadham was still alive and kept a sharp eye on the Fellows and Scholars, and soon after he had taken his degree John Willis incurred her anger by absenting himself from the College without leave. It does not appear where he went or what he was doing, but the old lady was much displeased, and whilst willing to overlook the absence if the College agrees, is quite resolute that he shall reap no advantage thereby. Her secretary Arnold writes :

‘I wish from my hearte I could write you news of my mistris recovery . . . she be altogether bedrinden, for she is not able to sitt up longer than her bed is makinge . . . My mistris hath been moved to dispense with Sr Willis that she grant him time of a year for his return . . . But by no means will she that he shall have any allowance from the house departing as he did.’

But the College, or John Willis’s friends, were not content with this permission, and next year (1618) Dorothy Wadham writes herself, ‘of Sr Willis Scoller of the house I am for this once upon his friends great importunity content,’ and she allows him to return and draw his stipend and allowance. It would seem that John Willis was not so popular with the foundress as his predecessor had been, for William Smith had had permission to be away six months, whereas all the leave that she now allows ‘Sr Willis’ is forty days in the year—a length of vacation that would hardly content a modern Fellow of Wadham. In 1618 Mrs. Wadham died, and Sir Willis—like his predecessor Smith, Sir Basill, and Mr. Payton—had mourning supplied to him on the occasion of her funeral.¹ The distinction between ‘Sir’ Willis and ‘Mr.’ Payton is curious, but ‘Sir’ was a common title for the clergy at that time, and it is probable that Mr. Payton was not in orders, for he only became Vicar of Southrop in 1623.

In 1619 the Vicarage of Hockleigh, Essex, was in the gift of Wadham College for the first time, and they presented John Willis to it. The following year he gave up his scholarship (on his marriage?), and in 1630 succeeded his College Warden

¹ See *Dorothy Wadham's Letters*, ed. R. B. Gardiner.

at Ingatestone, being presented by Rector William Smith himself, the latter holding the presentation for this time.

So his thirty-two years of rectorship here begin, and none of his successors have seen such troublous times. The year 1635 saw King Charles giving great offence to our land-owners by pressing the forest claims; in April sentence was given for the Crown. All lands to the south of the road from Colchester to Bishop Stortford were adjudged to be within the limits of the forest.¹ At that time an eminent solicitor, Richard Pulley, was Clerk of the Peace for the county, and he did good service in settling the controversy. For some years he lived here, and was buried in Ingatestone Church (1648), but his monument, with its Latin inscription, disappeared during the eighteenth century.² A more widely spread irritation was caused the same year by Charles's demand for ship-money from the inland parishes, which had hitherto been exempt. Here is a list of our people and what they had to pay.³ Many of the names are still among us.

DEMAND FOR SHIP-MONEY, 1637.

Fryerning.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wm Payton, Clerk	0	10	0	John Fuller	0	5	6
Sir Henry Browne Knt	1	2	0	Jeffrey Dan (?)	0	5	6
John Cliff gent	0	4	0	Christopher Royden	0	5	6
John Carter	0	8	0	Christopher Symon	0	4	6
Mr Willis Mr of the				Richard Wilcock	0	6	0
Hospital	0	3	0	Richard Marhyn	0	5	0
John Butler gent	1	2	0	Lawrence Ram	0	5	6
Henry Capell gent	1	0	0	Wm Brett	0	5	0
John Ponde	0	11	4	Wm Sorell	0	5	0
John Vintner	0	11	4	Hugh Emerton	0	5	0
Edmond Gatward	0	11	4	Robt Goodchild	0	5	0
Wm Ponde	0	14	8	John Boddy	0	3	0
Robt Waylett	0	14	8	John Beard	0	3	6
Robt Beard	0	14	8	George Robinson	0	2	0
James Stracey	0	9	6	Thomas Weston	0	2	0
John Potteward	0	8	0	Alis Nash wid	0	1	6

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. viii, p. 77.

² *Essex Arch. Trans.*, New Series, vol. iii, p. 305.

³ State Papers, Charles I, vol. ccclviii.

JOHN WILLIS

173

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Witham	0	1	6	Margaret B (?)	0	1	6
Edward King	0	1	6	John Baker	0	1	6
Wm Nash jun ^r	0	1	6	Phillippe Watts	0	1	6
Thomas Bird	0	1	6	Peter Dale	0	2	0
Francis Woode	0	1	6	Thomas Dale	0	2	6
John Kenett sen ^r	0	1	6				
Richard Ironmonger	0	1	6		13	13	6

Ingatstone.

John Willis, Clerk	0	5	0	Henry Stillman	0	0	0
Robt Ld Petre	8	0	0	Stephen Wharton	0	1	6
John Cliffe gent	0	10	0	Augustin Finch	0	9	6
Wm Garfoote gent	5	0	0	Richard Markoll	0	2	0
Ezekiell Eldred gent	1	4	0	Henry Archer	0	1	0
John Bernard	0	18	0	Henry Tendringe	0	2	0
Wm White phistion	0	3	0	Henry Shettleworth	0	3	6
Wm Foster	0	1	0	Mary Hatch widdow	0	1	6
John Dirkman	0	2	0	Henry Engoll	0	1	6
John Kent	0	1	0	John Reynolds	0	5	0
Robert Abraham	0	3	0	John Farminter	0	2	0
Christopher Merritt	0	6	0	John Snow	0	2	0
Anthony Brasier	0	11	0	John Newman	0	2	6
William Watson	0	1	0	John Weald	0	5	0
Christopher Cornwell	0	7	0	Wm Burre	0	1	6
Wm Sharpe	0	2	0	Wm Bearman	0	8	6
Joane Clarke wid	0	2	6	Nicholas Burre	0	5	0
Wm Bett	0	3	0	Thomas Burd	0	3	6
Wm Stiffer	0	10	0	John Burrell	0	3	0
John Cornish	0	9	0	John Arnott	0	4	0
Francis Bernard	0	8	6	Thomas Saringfield	0	2	0
James Hawkins	0	3	0	Daniel Nash senr	0	5	6
John Ford	0	5	6	Thomas Pool	0	3	0
Abell (?)	0	2	0	John Tarlinge	0	6	0
Daniel Nash, junr	0	1	6	Henry Finch	0	10	0
Wm Card	0	1	0	John Silvester	0	1	0
Thomas Stratton	0	1	0	Richard Hill	0	7	0
Henry Smith	0	1	6	George Ford	0	1	6
Samuel Harrington	0	1	6	Wm [?]	0	2	0
Christopher Fuller	0	2	6	Wm Newman	0	2	0
James Brell	0	7	0				
Thomas Eley	0	2	6		26	0	6

<i>Outdwellers.</i>					
	£	s.	d.		£ s. d.
Henry Capell gent	o	2	6	Richard Markin	o o 6
John Butler gent	o	5	o	Robte	o o 6
John Fuller	o	4	o	John Baker	o o 6
Widow Silvester	o	1	o		
Thomas Woolfe	o	1	o		o 15 o

It was apparently in response to a protest that a complete account of this subsidy levied in Essex in March, 1637, was rendered and published.¹ A ship of 800 tons, to cost £8,000, had been ordered by the King's writ to be supplied by the county. The Sheriff, in obedience to orders, had made his assessment and apportioned to each town and hundred the sum to be demanded from them.

Like his predecessors, Rector Willis had to bring his people to book before the Archdeacons:

1638. John Reynolds, for coming to church divers times after the service is ended. He dwells far from the church. Also for not kneeling at the reading of the Commandments, and for not bowing at the sacred name of Jesus. Said he did not know he had to kneel and bow, but will do so hereafter. To pay 2^s 8^d.

Eight of his neighbours were charged at the same time, for similar carelessness, and fined various sums—Henry Shuttleworth, 5s. 3^d. This seems an echo of the pre-Reformation days, when the obligation was only to be present at one particular part of the service, and standing was more usual than kneeling.

The following complaints would to-day be brought before the civil authorities: William Brett was charged with opening the fence into the churchyard, and thereby letting in his cows, who fouled the ground. The doctor (*medicinus*), John White, was a worse offender, for he allowed his hogs to root up the churchyard, and though he promised amendment in 1637, the next year found his fence still unrepaired and his hogs doing damage. John Body, of Fryerning, was complained of at the same time, and the hogs were described as very noisome beasts and doing much hurt in the Ingatestone churchyard.

¹ Sir H. Browne, of Fryerning, whose name appears second on the Fryerning list, was son of John Browne, of Fidlers, Esq., and Gertrude, daughter of Sir H. Tyrrell, of Heron. Morant, vol. ii, p. 65.

1632 seems to have been an exceptionally healthy year, for the following entry occurs in the funeral register: 'Memorable it is that in so great a parish none should die in 8 continued months'—June to March. Canon Tancock thinks this entry was made in good faith, and was not satirical on careless entries.

But at first all went well with the Rector; he married and lived in the Rectory with a young and growing family:

'William Wyllys sone of John Wyllys Rector Resident of this parish baptized July 16, 1633.'

Ann Willis and many other children were born to him.

Perhaps it was at this time the hour-glass was put up that still adorns the walls of the old church. Rector Willis's views were not at all those of most of his College, where Royalist feeling and High Church sympathy seem to have prevailed; for besides our Rectors Smith and Payton, many other Wadham men were dispossessed of their livings by the Commonwealth. Mr. Willis, on the contrary, took sides with the people against the King, and is found taking an active part in public affairs locally. In the midst of the public troubles of the outside world a heavy blow befell him at home in the death of his wife.

1647. June y^e 14th was buried y^e Body of M^{rs} Wyllys wife of M^r John Wyllys Rec^{tr}.

She left him with a young family.

His sympathy with the Commonwealth party in their Church views is evident from the fact that his name appears on the Classis, and amongst the subscribers to the Essex Testimony, 1648. In 1650 he was reported as an able godly minister. In 1654 Local Commissioners were appointed for the removal of scandalous ministers, and the management of affairs generally, and amongst the Assistant Commissioners was Mr. Willis of Ingerstone.¹ Whether he used his influence with the Commonwealth on behalf of his parishioners is uncertain, but it would seem likely that it was so, for we find

¹ For fuller details of above see under Rector Payton, on p. 124; also Davids's *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 266, 318, 345, 411.

Lady Petre renting Mill Green House at a rate below its value:

'Jan. 1653. Richard Stane of Folly's Hall,¹ Essex, discovers that Mill Green House and 46 acres the estate of Mary Lady Petre recusant, in Ingatestone and Fryan, is let to her at £18, the State's part being £12, whereas it is worth £30, and begs a lease thereof at £30, the County Commissioners were to certify the value and not let it without further orders.'²

The authorities in London were not satisfied with the arrangements made locally, and wrote later:

'Commissioners for Compounding to Commissioners for Essex.

We wrote you twice about the estate of Lady Petre at Fryan and Ingatestone, let by you at only £18 a year. So that the State's $\frac{2}{3}$ was only £12. Asked particulars, and bade you not let it further; but you laid aside our letters and against orders made another contract for it. We declare your lease to be void, and shall let it at £30 a year the value offered us. Meantime certify us where the lady's jointure lies, whether she has had the Mansion house at Mill Green, and what the whole estate is let for. We send you a letter to us of 31 March subscribed John Maidstone which we believe was not written by him. Tell us whether Captain Maidstone knows anything of it. On what account does Mr Guynor act under you? We allowed you no agent but Dan Roger and shall pay no other.'

To this the County Commissioners replied that the house being out of repair the estate being 45 acres was first let to her at £18, and then to Edward Southcott for £20, she still retaining the Mansion-house.

But John Willis's principal work was the ministry.³ Charles II's return and the bell to commemorate it brought no joy to the Rector; he must have foreseen the rocks ahead. In 1662, at the Archdeacon's visitation, he refused to conform, 'Mr. Johannes Willis rect. vacat rat. stat.'⁴; and shortly after he had to vacate the Rectory where he had passed so many busy years. He did not move to any great distance, but established a conventicle at Brentwood, in conjunction with

¹ Now Forest Hall, Ongar.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, 1653, pp. 587, 636.

³ A 'John Willis Clk.' was admitted to the church of West Horndon in September, 1656, and also to the church of Gingrave in August, by the Commissioners 'for approbation of publick Preachers at the Presentation of Will. Lord Petre'. This can hardly have been our Rector, as it is said in Newcourt that Edward Willis succeeded his father on his death in 1699, which does not agree with the real date of death. It may have been a relative recommended by him.

⁴ 'ratione statuti,' see p. 130.

Thomas Gilson, who had been ejected from Little Baddow. There they had a licence for a 'Presbyterian meeting house' in 1672, and Rector Willis probably remained there till his death in 1679, when he was brought to be laid under the shadow of the church whose walls had so often echoed to his godly preaching.

1679. May 19. John Wyllys Sen^r Clerke quondā Rect^r heere.¹

We owe thanks to his successor for enabling us to identify him. Five years later is the entry :

1684. M^{rs}. Mary Wyllys singlewoman.

The family is still resident amongst us, I believe.

John Ewer, M.A. (1662–1716). *Charles II, James II, Mary and William III, Anne, George I.* Thanks to John Ewer's delightful habit of annotating his registers we are able to identify him with certainty as the John Ewre whose early history is noted in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. John Ewer was the son of William Ewer, or Ewre, barber surgeon. He was born in the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, September 10, 1632, and admitted to Merchant Taylors' School in 1647. He matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, in December, 1651, took his B.A. 1654 and M.A. 1658, and was for some little while employed in the State service of the Navy—'perhaps Rector of Ingatestone 1662.' The old Rector did away with this 'perhaps' as he wrote up the register on his seventy-fifth birthday, on that stormy September day after the funeral :

1707. Sept 10. Sarah wife of Thomas Richards, in great Rain my birthday 1632.

John Ewer's work for the Navy must have been very little, for in 1658 he was curate of Sawbridgeworth. His own annotation of our book gave this clue.

166½. Mary the daughter of John Ewer (then curate) at Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, and Barbara his wife, March y^e 10th 166½, born the 2nd, being Sunday.

¹ Davids is therefore wrong in saying he was Pastor of Wapping in 1680. It may possibly have been his son. *Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 411.

In the Sawbridgeworth register he is mentioned thus :

John Ewer Curate, Dec. 16th, 1658.

And the birth of an older son is also noticed there :

William son of John Ewer, Curate, and Barbara his wife, baptized Dec. 14, 1659.¹

In 1662, on Rector Willis refusing to conform, John Ewer was appointed Rector of Ingatestone, and began his long sojourn of fifty-four years. And here I will give my last extract from the Archdeacon's Books. In 1665 no less than thirty people were presented for not receiving the Communion. Some declared they never had received it. Edmund Blackett said that he had been much abroad, and conceives himself altogether unfit to receive. George Wyberd that he is lame, and servant to Lord Petre and seldom at home, but did receive at Christmas. Edward Lucas said that he had but newly come here. Amongst the names are Anthony Haward, Anthony Brasier, Thomas Brasier (whose name is on the bell), James Nash, Jonah Bangs, James Pond. Some of these unfortunates, I suppose, were Papists, some Puritans ; but what their conscience told them was the one way of salvation mattered little to the Archdeacon, whose business was to press them all into one narrow religious mould—a process that I fear some extremists on both sides would approve of to-day.

But it is from the registers that we learn most about Rector Ewer, for he has left more personal touches in the old books than any other Rector, though some of the earlier ones had set him an excellent example by entering the occupation sometimes in addition to the names, and occasionally the place of burial.

It might almost seem that in his days of State service in the Navy he may have come across that inimitable diarist Samuel Pepys, and have caught something of the easy gossiping style of his superior ; and Ingatestone owes him almost as much gratitude for the light his notes throw on her history during his fifty years of rectorship, as the world at large does to

¹ Thanks to the Rev. O. Beverly, Sawbridgeworth, for information.

Samuel Pepys. Unlike his neighbours at Fryerning, who confined themselves to bare entries of names, never stating cause of death or place of residence, or whether buried within or without the church, Rector Ewer enters into full particulars. We learn how much more the new disease of small-pox was feared than the well-known plague, for there are only three notices of death from plague, but small-pox he constantly notes.

1665. Mr. George Cheyney from y^e Eagle in ffrierning, supposed of y^e plague.

Possibly one of the many Londoners fleeing from the pest-stricken city.

1665. May 6th. John Smith son of Henry Smith } both of y^e smalpox.
1665. May 24th. Henry Smith }

The names of the inns are often mentioned :

1665. The Eagle [as above].

1664. Oct 4th. Mr. John Woollaston kinsman of the Lord Petre, who died at the Lion.

1679. March 31st. Mr. George Ethrington from y^e Anchor in ffrian.

1679. Meredith Williams a drover of Wrexã in Denbighshire, he died at the Bell.

The parish clerks are mentioned, and the trades of many persons :

1663. William Winder, Shooe maker of ffrierning, with his head against y^e North door, and his feet by y^e women's Pews.

It seems strange that an inhabitant of Fryerning should have been buried in Ingatestone Church ; probably he was an important village tradesman. The note about the women's pews would indicate that the women sat apart from the men and on the north side. Probably it was only the poor who were separated, and the gentry had seats appropriated to them, for we read :

1674. Thomas Brasier¹ at my Pew door in y^e Chancel.

1680. Mr. Richard Hammond from the Hide on the South Side of y^e S^o Alley ag̃st Hide Pew.

The clerk also had a pew, even in those days, though it

¹ This must be the Brasier whose name is on the bell.

would not be part of the three-decker, familiar to our old inhabitants.

1683. Edward Sandford by y^e Clark's Pew.

The occupant of the post at that time was William Clerk, who died in 1691.

The place of burial too he noted, as we see above, and the vagrants are entered as well as the Archdeacon's officer who may have died here while the Visitation was being held :

1680. Dec. 3rd. Robert Plat, apparitor.

1671. Buried y^e body of a decayed gentleman from y^e Dolphin.

The servants at the inns are mentioned :

1698. John Bell, Hostler at y^e Crown.

And the Petre family constantly, often with description of place of burial :

1683. Was buried the Body of the Right Hon^{ble} William L^d Petre, Baron of Writtle, January the 10th, 1683, upon y^e coffin of y^e R^t Worshipful S^r William Petre, who was buried ffebruary the 12th, 157 $\frac{1}{2}$ and the first in the vault.

This was the Lord Petre who died in the Tower, where he was confined on suspicion of being concerned in the Titus Oates plot. It would seem to have been a grand funeral, from the way the Rector entered it.

Many were the almspeople that he buried :

1684. April 30 was buried the body of Thomas Ball, Almsman, aged 94.

And he was not afraid to show his displeasure at the harshness with which an old servant was treated :

1676. John Sheeres, cast by order from M^r Aug. Petre's service on the Parish from Michaelmas 1675 by reason of inability.

It is evident that in Rector Ewer's time the almshouses and pensions were not confined to Roman Catholics, but that the almsfolk attended church and sat together :

1701. Malachi ffogurty Gent^m in y^e almsfolks chapel.

Rector Ewer also noted public events. The travellers along

the road brought early news of the great burning in the Metropolis, and this entry shows what impression the news made, and how the seriousness of the conflagration was realized in the country. The fire began on the 2nd of September:

1666. Henry y^e son of John ffoot and Susanna his wife, September 2nd y^e day of y^e fire of Londone.

The death of the King does not pass unnoticed:

1684. 6th ffebruary Mortuus est Carolus ii D. G. &c.

Did the D.G. bear an inward meaning of thankfulness for the Restoration, which not only brought back Charles II, but involved the departure of Rector Willis and the entry of John Ewer into the pleasant Rectory of Ingatestone? In the following April he noted the coronation of James II, which sensibly followed shortly after the King's accession, instead of being postponed for a year, as is the (seemingly godless) practice of to-day, for surely if there is anything in the coronation service it should take place immediately the sovereign enters upon his solemn duties.

1685. April 24th. George Ammot born y^e 23rd St. George's and Coronation of King James y^e 2nd.

Incidentally we learn here how soon a child was christened after birth. In the following case there might have been more reason for the haste:

Jan. 30th. Mary, daughter of Dorothy Pierce, born y^e same day in y^e church porch.

This was probably the porch to the North door which was removed early in the nineteenth century. The following year the Rector still remembered Charles's death and James's accession:

1685. Jane the daughter of Jeremiah Clark, ffebruary y^e 6th at church on Sunday the King's day.

He had noted also in 1683 the discovery of the Rye-house Plot in June:

1683. Elizabeth Clark, Sunday Sept. 9th, being Thanksgiving day for discovery of Phanatic Plot.

His own family history is written in the books, a mingling

of grave and gay. We have already seen his note of the birth of Mary; in 1665 he christened his son John, and later noted his death on the same page:

1664. June 16th. John the son of John Ewer Rector and Barbara his wife, buried in St. Stephen's Walbrooke, Decemb^r 1666.

This was shortly after the Great Fire of London, and it is remarkable that a funeral should have been allowed in the ruins of the church, which had been destroyed by the fire; the first stone of the new one was not laid till 1672.¹

John and Barbara Ewer had many children, and Jane was the youngest and the favourite of the family, her younger sister Ann having died as a baby.

1683. March 4th. The body of Jane the pretty, witty, industrious, deservedly beloved daughter of John Ewer Rect^r and Barbara his wife, aged 7 years 7 months and 14 days.

The old Rectory must have been a sad house for a time, after the prattle of the merry child had ceased, but in two years' time came the joy of the marriage feast, followed by the birth of a grandchild:

1685. Dec. 31st. Mr. Nathaniel Reeve, Rector of Twinstead, to Mary Ewer.

1688. Mary daughter of Nathaniel Reeve and Mary his wife.

Mr. Reeve seems to have resided here with his wife, and probably helped Rector Ewer, for nothing is known of him at Twinstead but his name amongst the list of Rectors there.² He was of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1674. His death is noted in our register:

1699. Nathaniel Reeve, Rector of Twinstead. [Mary (Ewer) Reeve had already died in 1690 in childbed of Anne.]

Mr. Ewer's daughter Joanna had married Isaac Percival, of Fryerning, and had a young family; his son James was also married, and living at one time at Maldon, though afterwards he went to Jamaica.

¹ Wheatley, *London Past and Present*.

² Thanks to the Rev. T. Myers, Twinstead Rectory, for information.

Later another of Rector Ewer's sons died, and the entry of his death is annotated with the death of James in Jamaica :

1702. July 9th. Edmund son of John Ewer Rec^{tr} and Barbara, his brother James died in Jamaica Nov. 1702.

Those of the Rector's family who died here must have been buried in the churchyard, for there is no mention of any of them being buried within this church.

After Mr. Reeve's death the Rev. Thomas Taylor's name appears in the registers. He may probably have been grandson of Thomas Taylor, Vicar of Sawbridgeworth, and son of 'Edward Taylor, Curate of Sawbridgeworth and Mary Carter, of Albury, in the County of Hertford [who] were married by Richard Goulston, Esq., one of the Justices for the said county, May 23, 1654', for Rector Ewer, as we have seen, was connected with Sawbridgeworth. It is possible also that the Ewer family who sailed for America in 1635 were relations, for Ewer is not a very common name, and its combination with Tayler Thomas is curious.

Passengers who passed from the Port of London 19 June 1635 aboard the *James*. Capt. Jo. May. for N. England.¹

Tayler Thomas Ewer	40
Sarah Ewer	28
Elizabeth Ewer	4
Thomas Ewer	1½

1700. Aug. 26th was buried the body of John the pretty witty, deservedly beloved son of Thomas Taylor, Curate, and Ann his wife.

The notice of this child and little Jane Ewer seem echoes of John Evelyn's lament over his son Richard, who died at much the same age.

The father did not long survive his son, for soon we read :

1705. Jan 29th. Thomas Taylor Cleric.

For a few more years the entries continue, but in 1708 they cease for five years, and are never again in Rector Ewer's hand. There is no record of the death of Barbara his wife ; he himself was getting an aged man, and for the last few years he was evidently assisted by Mr. Thomas Ralph, who succeeded

¹ J. C. Hotten.

him, for the entries later are in Mr. Ralph's handwriting, and he makes this note in the register in 1713: 'Mr. Ewer had y^e Register in his hand all this vacancy having neglected to Register y^e Names.' By and by comes the entry 'John Ewer (Rector of this Parish 54 years) was buried Dec. 23rd. 1716'. So the old Rector passes from the life of the busy village to join the many he had laid to rest within and without the old church. I part from the chatty Rector with regret, as from a friend, and wish that his successor had mentioned where the old man was laid for his last long sleep.

Thomas Ralph, M.A. (1716-1755). *George I, George II.* Rector Ralph was a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1696 and his M.A. 1700. He was presented by his College to the living of Rawreth in 1704. Not content with that quiet place, John Ralph (his father ?) had bought for him the next presentation to Ingatestone. Rector Ewer was then an old man, and doubtless Mr. Ralph did not expect to wait many years for the succession, but the old Rector continued to live on, and Mr. Ralph appears to have resided here and acted as curate for some years. On the death of Rector Ewer in 1716 Mr. Ralph was at once appointed, and lived here apparently until the end of his life. The register notes the death of his wife :

1750. M^{rs}. Catherine Ralph, y^e wife of Thomas Ralph, Rector of this Parish, was buried Jan. y^e 10th.

They do not appear to have had any children.

Thomas Ralph has left marks of himself on the registers, and must have been a more godly and careful parson than were many of the clergy in his time. In Rector Ewer's later days the parish may have been as neglected as the registers, for we find in the baptism book this entry by Rector Ralph :

1742. Esther Osborne, y^e mother of y^e above said child, being never baptized before was baptized Jan. y^e 8th.

The registers are once more well kept, and in one of them is an entry containing an account of an anonymous gift of

Communion plate to the church in Rector Ralph's time, from which we learn that the Sacrament was administered every last Sunday of the month. This was most unusual at that time, when four times a year was the most usual number. The registers, so well kept by him, record his death:

1755. March 7th. The Rev. Mr. Ralph, Rector of Ingatestone.

By his will he left £500 to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, out of the income of which £1 was to be paid yearly to the churchwardens of Ingatestone to buy bread for the poor. This benefaction still remains, though it is now allowed to accumulate for two years and then given in money. He left the same legacy to Rawreth, which is still (1913) distributed in bread. Though he did not reside there he had a careful curate-in-charge, for the present Rector writes that the registers were properly attended to in Rector Ralph's time. He must have resided there at some time, for 'he left a large quantity of theological works in charge of the Rector', which the present Rector writes, he 'would be glad to transfer to some public library'.¹ He left a similar gift to the Rector of Ingatestone, several mighty tomes, which lay neglected and useless in a loft in the old Rectory until the autumn of 1912, when they were offered to, and accepted by, the Libraries of the Universities of Cambridge and Wales (see Appendix D), greatly to the satisfaction of Mrs. Sidgwick, who had discovered them for me.

Pierce Lloyd, M.A. (1755-1770). *George II, George III.* Jesus College, Oxford: B.A. May 1733, M.A. 1736.

Lord Petre had again sold the next presentation, for Thomas Bramston, Esq., is entered in the Bishop's book as patron in 1755. Rector Lloyd was presented immediately on the death of Mr. Ralph, and was inducted March 17, 1755, but does not seem to have come into residence at once, for Mr. Ralph died in March and Rector Lloyd does not take up the registers until November. In Pierce Lloyd the little town again had an excellent Rector. The registers are well kept; he even annotates Rector Ralph's entries in the baptism register:

¹ Thanks to the Rev. G. G. Kemp, Rector of Rawreth.

1745. Isaac y^e son of John Shed. N. B. that this child of Shed's is said to have been named Jacob. 1762. P. Lloyd.

(John Shed was fond of Scripture names, for another child was called Abraham.) Rector Lloyd was resident, and took an interest in the town's concerns, as we find when Daniel Sutton was making himself unpopular. Every month in his time, as in his predecessor's, the Sacrament was administered. In 1763 the Bishop of London's secretary, William Dickes, recorded in a book, now at the Guildhall Library,¹ full particulars of the parishes in the diocese, and our own amongst them. Among the churches in the Archdeaconry of Essex, Ingatestone alone had the Sacrament administered as often as twelve times a year. The old book gives a very interesting glimpse of Church life in the middle of the eighteenth century. In almost all our Essex churches the Sacrament was only administered four times a year: at Chelmsford seven times, at Chignal St. James 'agreeable to the Rubric': in one parish it was not administered at all because there were no communicants. The number of communicants was always small: Chelmsford 100, very many places like Ingatestone 10 to 20, Fryerning 'about 10', Doddinghurst 20, some places only 4. Doddinghurst seems to have been more favoured with its services than many parishes, for it had two services on Sunday in summer, though only one in winter, and was content with the Sacrament only four times a year. Our two parishes only had one service each, which was not surprising, as Rector Pierce Lloyd was at this time (1763) curate of Fryerning. The book also records almost universal catechising of the children, and usually in Lent, though occasionally it was held Easter to Whitsuntide or to Michaelmas, at Chignal St. James not at all, because the children could not read; and at another place there was no catechising because there were no children who would come.

The book gives us one or two other items of interest:

Ginge Abbots als Ingatestone val £130. 17.
prim 16. 3. 4. proc 10s. pens W.L. 9d.
Consolidated with the P.C. of Butsbury.

¹ Guildhall MS. 481, p. 64.

This Parish consists of two portions separated from each other by the parish of Fryerning, in which $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Town or Street of Ingatestone lies. About 70 Houses in Ingatestone are charged to the Poor and Window tax.

Here is an Almshouse endowed, and a Benefaction to the poor of 20s. per An̄ which is distributed in Bread but no Chapel or School.

The Bishop's secretary hardly finds any schools to record, save Chelmsford and Ongar.

The good Rector was not spared to minister to his people for many years; in 1770 he passed away, and was laid to rest among his people in the old church.

Rector Lloyd left a long and wordy will made some sixteen months before his death. He had much property in Wales, in Denbigh and Carnarvon, and many brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces amongst whom to select his heirs. His brother David was in holy orders, living at Llanyornon, Denbigh, and him he appoints his executor. ffoulk Lloyd, of Denbigh, was his brother-in-law, and Pierce Sparrow (Anglesey) his godson and nephew. A codicil left rings to various people—one to 'my much esteemed Friend Thomas Berny Bramston in grateful remembrance of the many kindnesses received from his ffather and the family'; another to 'my worthy Friend Dr. ffoote Gower in remembrance of the friendly intercourse that has long subsisted between us'; to John Long and Mary Taverner a year's wages and ten pounds apiece—'in token of their long and faithful service'. The following February (1770) he makes another codicil, saying he had lately purchased from Lord Petre, through his agent Thomas Walmisley, the next presentation to Ingatestone and Buttsbury for £260, and directs that it shall be sold for the benefit of his relatives, Dr. ffoote Gower to have the preference. He also requested that Dr. Gower should take charge of his funeral, if his brother David were absent. His memorial stone may still be seen in the chancel; it lies below the altar steps, a little to the south; the top line bearing his name is covered by a seat.

(PIERCE LLOYD.)
 The faithful and pious Rector
 of this Parish 16 years
 who died Nov^r 22 1770
 aged 60.

Whilst Life stamp'd Being on his mouldring Dust,
 One Line of Conduct mark'd his Actions Just.
 His Duty, with an even Current flow'd,
 Bearing to God that Tribute which He ow'd.
 And from his Lips to listning Age, and Youth,
 Dropt the Sweet Manna of Religious Truth.
 The Mental Feast more powerful Nurture wrought
 Practice still gilding what his Precepts taught.

Thus, like his SAC^RED LORD, he spent his Days,
 In Acts of Goodness; earning Virtuous Praise.
 Tho, at Vast Distance, This DISCIPLE's Plan,
 To serve the Poor, his Country, Friend, and Man.

John Lewis, B.D. (1771–1796). *George III.* Rector Lloyd, as we know from his will, had bought the next presentation to the living, and John Lewis on Pierce Lloyd's death must have bought it from David Lloyd, or perhaps paid David to present him.

John Lewis was Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, having taken his B.A. 1748, M.A. 1752, S.T.B. 1761. Two years later he was presented by his College to the living of Sandon, which he held till his death in 1800. In 1759 he had been presented by John Rush to the Vicarage of Birdbrook. It seemed to be a necessary mark of respectability in the eighteenth century for a man of family or of University distinction to hold several livings and put cheap curates into the least desirable of the parishes. Pierce Lloyd seems the one exception with us. With Rector Lewis we come to the first non-resident Rector of Ingatestone since Warden Smith's departure in 1630. He officiated at a marriage soon after his induction, and then appears upon the register no more. At first he had a very inefficient curate in Mr. Scott, judging by the registers; afterwards they were better kept by W. Herringham, and later by John Jenner, D.D., who writes a beautiful hand, which is to be found in several books in the neighbour-

hood, for Dr. Jenner seems to have frequently taken curacies in this part of Essex. He is found also taking duty at Fryerning. Several of his children were born at Ingatestone.

Rector John Lewis married a lady of French family, Sarah De-Neufville, who survived him. He resigned Ingatestone in 1796, and died four years later at Sandon. He is buried there, and the following inscription is on a slab on the south side of the chancel floor in Sandon Church :

Rev^d John Lewis B.D. / Formerly Fellow of / Queens' College Cambridge / and late Rector of / this Parish 36 years and 8 months / died January the 5th 1800 / aged 72 years.

Also of / Sarah Lewis / Relict of the above / who died the 13th of Dec^r 1807 / aged 65 years.

Sarah De-Neufville / widow of / Philip Jacob De-Neufville Esq^r / late of London, Merchant / died January the 3rd 1781 / aged 68 years.¹

From 1792 another John Lewis had been acting curate at Ingatestone, and was presumably a nephew, or perhaps a cousin, of John Lewis, sen.

John Lewis, Jnr., M.A. (1796-1853). *George III, George IV, William IV, Victoria.*

The living was now in the hands of the Lewis family, and young John Lewis, who had been acting curate to his relative for four years, was appointed Rector by Richard William Lewis. Rector Lewis came from the borders of Wales, being the son of Philip Lewis, of St. Melan's, Monmouthshire, described by Foster² as armiger, and therefore a man of some position. Entering Jesus College, Oxford, in 1785, at the age of seventeen, he took his B.A. in 1790, and went to Sandon that year as curate at £30 per annum. He came as curate to Ingatestone in 1792, when he was about twenty-four; became Rector in 1796, with the Perpetual Curacy of Buttsbury; and in 1826 he was also presented to the valuable living of Rivenhall, near Witham. All these he held until his death in 1853.

He is still remembered here by the older inhabitants as a rather short, stout, white-haired old gentleman with a stutter. 'Lo - - - -rrd G-god Sabaoth' stays still in Mr. Osborn's ear,

¹ Thanks to the Rev. W. Best.

² *Alumni Oxonienses.*

though he was 'but a little nipper' at the time; and even better he remembers the beautiful reading and preaching of the Rev. George Tufnell, curate at that time to Rector Lewis, and father of the future Fryerning rector. Mr. Lewis has left a remembrance of himself as a good man, 'but very poor,' which is certainly curious, as the Ingatestone living was of very fair value, and Rivenhall in his time was worth £1,500 a year. But his family was long, and perhaps expensive. He married a Shenfield lady, Miss Harriot Heatley, who died in 1833; he himself lived to 1853 and died at the advanced age of eighty-six. A daughter, now ninety years of age, is still alive (1912) and lives at Brentwood. Mr. Blood, solicitor, of Witham, is the old man's grandson. Mr. Lewis went twice a year to preach at Rivenhall, but never resided there. For twenty-three years he had a curate, Mr. B. D. Hawkins, who lived in the Rectory at Rivenhall. He had bought the next presentation and on Mr. Lewis's death at last succeeded to the living.¹

The Lewis family remained many years in the parish and built for themselves the huge brick tomb that stands on the north side of the churchyard, measuring 11 feet by 19 feet, and 8 feet high. The names inscribed upon it will be found under 'Tombstones', and mention of Dr. Richard Lewis in 'Yesterday'. The legend of His Majesty's Inspector who, on his first visit long ago, took it for the infant school is *ben trovato*, if not true.

W. J. F. Jenkyn (1853-1860). *Victoria.* I can find little to record of this Rector. He exchanged this living for that of South Kelsey, with Mr. Parkin, and in answer to my inquiries his successor writes:

'I succeeded the Rev. W. J. F. Jenkyn as Rector of S. Kelsey in 1865. He left that parish' [suddenly]; 'he was at that time nearly blind. I have never heard of him since. He was at Cambridge, from which town I have heard that Mrs. Jenkyn came, but I do not know his college or whether he took any degree.'²

This is practically all I can find about him.

¹ Thanks to Miss Blood, and the Rev. H. H. Willmott, Rector of Rivenhall, for information. ² Thanks to the Rev. H. C. Brewster.

Lewis Parkin, M.A. (1860-1886). *Victoria*. Rector Parkin was born at Woolwich in 1822; his parents moved to London in 1830. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and like so many scholars of that great school went to St. John's College, Oxford. He entered in 1842 and was S.C.L. 1844. In 1856 he took his B.A. and his M.A. in 1857. So says Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*), and also that he followed the law for a time; but 1846 seems a more probable date for the B.A. than 1856, and his legal career must have been short, as he had held several curacies before 1849. After holding curacies at Wem and Darlington, he took the living of South Kelsey, Lincolnshire, in 1849. The keen air of the place did not suit his wife's health, and the doctors recommending a warmer climate, Mr. Parkin exchanged livings with Mr. Jenkyn.

Coming in the prime of life, at a time when much movement for Church reform was stirring, Rector Parkin found plenty of work to his hand. The condition of the church left much to be desired, but Mr. Parkin proceeded with discretion, if not with rapidity. After two years the old barrel-organ was dispossessed, its place being taken by a new one-manual instrument, and Joseph Poole no longer had to peregrinate between the gallery and clerk's desk. By 1865 Rector Parkin had prepared the parishioners for the great work of the restoration of the church, which was fully accomplished by 1866, and which has been described at length in a previous chapter. That he was on good terms with all his neighbours is evident from the very large number of clergy present at the reopening, and also by the courtesy with which Lord Petre met his request that the south chapel should be thrown into the church and made available for the worshippers.

In 1862, with the aid of Mr. Newbury, of Docklands, he founded one of the first Working Men's Clubs and Libraries. It was at first held in a small room looking out over the churchyard. Penny Readings were also started, and were very popular in those days.

After 1882 Rector Parkin's health began to fail, and finding the work of the parish more than he could satisfactorily perform he thought it well to resign, and took a very small

living in Herefordshire, Kenchester; but his health did not improve, and he only lived there ten months, dying after a few hours' illness in January, 1887. He lies buried in Kenchester Churchyard. His wife and daughter moved to Eltham, where Mrs. Barbara Parkin died in December, 1891, and is buried in that churchyard.

Very excellent work Rector Parkin and his family did in Ingatestone, and their memory is still green amongst the older inhabitants.

Charles Earle, B.A. (1886). *Victoria, Edward VII, George V.* Rector Earle is the second son of Dr. Joseph Earle; he was born at Brentwood, October 13, 1856, and educated at Tonbridge School, where he gained an entrance scholarship in 1869, and at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, where he also gained an open scholarship in 1875. After taking his degree in 1879 he was assistant master at a Preparatory School at Rugby from 1879 to 1886, was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Worcester in December, 1879, Priest 1881, and was curate at New Bilton, near Rugby, until he came here in February, 1886. He married Ethel, daughter of Colonel Disney, of the Hyde. The works that have been done in the parish during his Rectorship will be found noted at the end of 'Ingatestone Church'. The Rector and his wife have long been so well known in the village for their unfailing kindness to and knowledge of the people, that it would be presumptuous in a 'passer by' like myself to make any comment upon them.

F. H. N. II'
FRYERNING REGISTER, WITH RECTOR'S AND CHURCHWARDENS' SIGNATURES

CHAPTER XI

THE REGISTERS

ONE of the most valuable historical possessions of a parish is its old registers. In them are found the names of the old folk who lived here long ago; many of them the direct ancestors of the present inhabitants. No registers were kept anywhere before 1538, and while our Ingatestone book goes back to 1558, the Fryerning one practically only begins in 1620. For the history of parish registers I will quote from Canon O. W. Tancock's paper on 'Old Parish Register Books' in the *Essex Review* of 1896:

'The law and the practice of the registering of baptisms, burials, and marriages by the minister of the parish depends on the "Act of Supremacy" (26 Henry VIII, c. 1.)

Under this Act Henry VIII issued a commission appointing Thomas Cromwell to be his Vicar-General in July 1535, and Cromwell, as Vicar-General, issued a series of "Royal Injunctions" to the bishops and clergy, September 28th, 1538, of which one was: "That every Parson, Vicar, or Curate . . . shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening and Burying made within the parish . . . and also there insert every Person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, and buried . . . which Book he shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings christenings and buryings made the whole week afore, and for every time that the same shall be omitted, shall forfeit to the said church iiis. iiiid."

This injunction fixed the practice of registration . . . The books provided were of paper for the most part, small, slight, and perishable; and many must have been badly kept and soon damaged or lost in the troublous times that followed.' [Both of ours have disappeared.] 'After the Reformation Settlement, in 1597, the Convocation of Canterbury, in its attempts at Church-reforms, dealt with registers in the new body of canons. An Ordinance was issued, dated 1598, having been passed, approved by the Queen, and ratified under the Great Seal . . . incorporated as Canon 70 in the canons of 1603 . . . the point is in these words which refer to the injunction of 1538 as "the law":

"In every Parish Church and Chapel within this realm shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written the day and year of every Christening, Wedding, and Burial which have been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the beginning of the reign of the late Queen."

[Most parishes only troubled to copy from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and Ingatestone among them. Fryerning did not even do that.]

'This Canon 70 is still the law, though modified by many later enactments . . . We may leave smaller alterations of the law unnoticed, but three great breaches of continuity require mention. First, the Commonwealth, having disestablished the Church, proceeded to abolish her system of registration. By an Act of the "Little" or "Barebones" Parliament, civil registration was enacted. In each Parish a "Parish Register" was to be elected and to enter "Births, Marriages, and Burials," from September 1653. . . This law lapsed after the Restoration in 1660, and the older registration was reinstated, but terrible gaps in our books are the result of the troubles that caused the change of the law.' [Our Fryerning book has few entries 1643-1651, except certain marriages. Ingatestone practically none at all except a few inserted later. Neither parish has any notice of the election of a Register.]

'Next, Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753, prescribed a special form of entry of banns and marriages, resulting in the general use of printed books, and so in almost all cases breaking the continuity of the old books.

Again, Rose's Act, 1812, put an end to the old "Register Books" and compelled the use of separate printed books of newly prescribed forms for baptisms, burials, and marriages, from the new year 1813. The resulting uniformity took away "all local colour", and indeed almost all that was most interesting, from registers.'

It is curious to note how differently the early books have been kept in the two churches. Ingatestone's, on the whole, has been carefully written throughout, with the exception of one long gap in the restless days of Charles I and Cromwell, when Rector Willis was too busy with political life to make his entries properly, and for many years made none at all.

But the Fryerning book was always indifferently kept; one Rector would write only on the recto, and some economically minded successor would use the vacant verso for his own entries. To add to the confusion, the book, having become unsewn at some period, was resewn with the pages in the wrong order.

Moreover, the Rectors of Fryerning after Mr. Peake were often pluralists and non-resident, and the curates or Sunday-duty clergy took no pride in the care of the registers.

Ingatestone, on the other hand, as a more important cure, with its excellent rectory in the village and close to the high road from London to Harwich, was usually worked by its own resident Rector. Many of them would appear to have been most conscientious men, even in that eighteenth century, which is so often abused as being a period when the Church was dead. The Ingatestone registers, besides being far better kept than those of Fryerning, are also infinitely more interesting. Many are the notes in them of contemporary history, the occupations of the inhabitants, and the names of the houses and districts in which they dwelt; whereas the Fryerning scribes wrote merely the names and dates, unless they were entering a non-parishioner. A great many of the Ingatestone entries will be found in the Appendix, as it seemed more interesting to quote them in full as they stand in the old books.

Of the Fryerning books the following is a short *résumé*. With the exception of a few written-up entries Fryerning does not begin until 1620, and all trace of any earlier book has vanished, even if it ever existed. After the death of Rector Owen, our register begins:

1620
was buried 19th April.
William Owen, Clarke, was buried the 24th April.

written in a beautiful hand, but with the strange omission of the name of the person buried on the 19th. Very frequently, even from the beginning, occur names still familiar in our parishes and neighbourhood; and though in many cases it would be difficult to trace the exact descent, as families constantly move from one parish to an adjacent one for a time and then return, there can be little doubt that many of our inhabitants are related more or less directly to those people of long ago whose names still remain in our old books, though they themselves are forgotten and their bodies turned to dust in our quiet churchyards.

Here, in the days of Charles I (1625-49) are the names

of some of the inhabitants: Nash, Tabor, Greene, Ramm, Binder, Body, Bangs, Witham, Beard, Pomfrey (a variation of Humfrey), Chipperfield, Marsh, Midelton, Gilman, Pond, Parmenter, Shuttleworth.

We find the Hampshire family more constant than their neighbours in giving Scripture names to their children, Judith and Israel being the most common. But in the seventeenth century, Biblical names were much used, and Abraham, Isaac, Sarah, Susannah, Habakkuk, Hosea, Uriah, Zachary, Benjamin, Timothy, Ephraim, Nathan, Obadiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hezekiah, Deborah, are all found in our book.

A curious entry is:

1692. Jesabell ye wife of Jⁿ Ruskin was buried Aug. 9.

though, of course, Jesabell is but a variation of Isabell.

The entries were very irregular until Rector Payton's time (1632-44); it is evident he resided and wrote the particulars himself, always in Latin. Amongst them we find his own marriage to 'Maria Tobington de Monysinge' (Mountnessing), August 29th, 1637, and the baptism of his son William, July 4th, 1638. But Rector William Payton lived in troublous times, and as a Royalist found himself ejected from his quiet home in 1644, and with his departure the registers almost cease for eighteen years.

In the Fryerning book are a few marriages and notices of banns, amongst them Hennery Marsh and Elsbeth Clarke in 1654, and William Nash and Anne Shaw in the same year. Also the baptisms of Thomas Norman and John Bennett, and on one page are written up the baptisms of the children of George and Martha Evans, born between 1650 and 1655: also of Wood and Haward children. George Evans was at one time churchwarden, and was probably an innkeeper.

In 1657 Mr. John Peake was appointed Rector, but he did not begin to keep the registers till 1661, when the following entry was made:

'Baptised was Mary Peake the daughter of John Peake, Minister of ffryerning, and of Alice his wife the 14th day of January, 1661.'

Rector Peake was not so carefu a man as Mr. Payton, and

the entries, though frequent at first, are never in the excellent order of Rector Payton, and in Mr. Peake's later days he must have left them to some unskilled hand to write, for we find such vague and useless entries as the following:

'Young Master D's wife March 3 was buried 1686.

. Aylet y^e son of William Aylet and Elizabeth his wife was baptised ffebruary 25.

John y^e son of Timothy Cloit and Mary his mother was baptised March 5, 1680.'

On the other hand, the records are sometimes interesting with their contemporary English.

1674. Anne daughter of Thomas Brassington and Ann his wife was baptised.

1676. Buried was Goodwife Brassington May 29.

1676. Thomas Brassington and Jane Echo was married Sept. 5th.

Truly a case of— 'the funeral bak'd meats
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.'

1680. Widow House was buried.

1681. Goodwife Lawrence was buried July 26.

1681. John —, journeying man way home buried Oct. 25.

1682. Susanna y^e daughter of Goodman Battle was baptised.

1680. Timothy Clay, physician.

1666. George Harris y^e sonne of John Harris, Upland, was baptised June 20th.

This is the first mention of any part of the parish, and possibly is only noticed as being, perhaps, in Ingatestone.

— William Reynolds the husband of Mary Reynolds his wife was buried Oct. 14.

1676. Old Nash was buried Sept. 2.

In the eighteenth century the names that we have already noted continue to appear, and to them are added many more: Willis (probably descendants of Rector Willis of Ingatestone), Garrett, Whistock, Horsnel, Oddin, Glasscock, Brock, Ward, Perry, Anger, Doe, Dawson, Hilliard, Crowe. Loker is spelt at different times as Legour, Logsur, Leugar, Loagar; probably the family were of French or Dutch origin and fled to England in the sixteenth century for protection, in the time of the religious persecutions of the Emperor Charles V or Louis XIV. Spelling was no matter of importance in those

days; the same person's name will frequently be spelt differently in the same entry, as, for instance, 'Elizabeth Hillyard daughter of John Hilliard'. Catchpole is often written Scatchpole, Shuttleworth as Shuttelword. The spelling was usually phonetic, and with strangers constantly taking the services who were unfamiliar with the local names and accent, and with natives often unable to spell their own names, it is little wonder the spelling is so varied. Nash is the one name that is always written in its modern form, though the Christian names accompanying have not the same uniformity. The family seems to have been a large one, and probably longer-lived than most of its neighbours, for we find an 'Old Nash' again in the Ingatestone book. The name of Cable is written Cavel, Cabel, and also Capel.

With the eighteenth century the Sorrell family appear, and their name constantly recurs in the register, the spelling of Mrs. Robert Sorrell's Christian name giving the scribes much trouble, amongst their spellings of Dorothy being the quaint variation of Dogary. The family was an important one in the village, one member being mentioned by the Rector of Ingatestone in his register (1777) as a very punctual and exact man, and respectable shopkeeper in the town, and one at least was a doctor. In February, 1762, is entered the burial of 'Priest Sorrell', but whether this was his Christian name or whether he was a Roman Catholic priest I have been unable to ascertain, though the latter would seem more probable. The tomb of some of the family is still to be seen at the west end of the churchyard. One of the most curious entries in our register is connected with the Sorrells:

1715. Sorrels Shoe boy Bapt. April 18, 17 years old.

neither Christian nor surname of the lad himself being given. On first noticing the entry I was inclined to read it 'slave boy', for at that date it was the fashion to have negro slave servants, and there may well have been such in our parishes; but the entry is, I think, more correctly read as 'shoe boy'.

Oddy is so written in 1773, but has previously appeared as Oddin and Odding. Richard Ironmonger becomes Rich^d

Irons, a shortening of a family name of which we have a modern instance in our parish in the case of Mr. John Hales, whose real name is Halestrap, and as such his father, who recently died at the age of over ninety, was entered in the Blackmore register.

The entries of burials in the eighteenth century was often made in this form :

1747. The body of M^{rs} Elizabeth Clarke.
The body of Goody Hicks.

Goody is a shortened form of Goodwife, which we often find in our register, both being terms of civility with which married women in humble life were in those days addressed, as in Wordsworth's poem of 'Goody Blake and Harry Gill.'

Old Goody Blake was old and poor, &c.

Often the entries are of the burials of unknown travellers who died here amongst strangers, and were buried far from friends and home :

1700. John Sorder, a travelling man.
1702. Nov. 31. Was buried the body of a vagrant man, by name unknown.
1733. Dec. 29. An Irishman, his name unknown.
1737. A traveller's child.
1738. Thos. Spanks, a traveller.

1736. May 3. M^{rs} Hornby of Fuz Hall, buried in y^e chancel.

This is the first mention of the name of any house. Charles Hornby, her husband, had built Furze Hall a few years previously.

1786. William Barrett, aged 66.

is the first record of age at the time of death ; after this entry the age occasionally appears :

1790. Catherine wife of Isaac Battle, Innholder.
—— Samuel Platt, æt 80. June 6.
—— William Chalk, æt. 23. June 13.
—— Mary Day, æt. 82. Aug. —,
1799. Lydia Room was buried aged 105, Dec. 30.

This is the only entry in the early register of Fryerning of

any one attaining a hundred years ; but Ingatestone had already buried a centenarian, 120 years before :

1683. Thomas Croe Aged 101 years and 2 months. Jan. 31st.

The first years of the nineteenth century saw two more aged parishioners pass away :

1800. Richard Beard, aged 90. May.

1801. Susanna Eames, aged 90. May.

The name of Chalk came in melancholy succession in 1762. It would seem that January was either a very unhealthy month or that some epidemic, possibly small-pox, was prevalent, for there were nine funerals that month, four of them being of the Chalk family. Ann Chalk, Jan. 3 ; Sarah Chalk, Jan. 11 ; Ann Chalk, an infant, Jan. 15 ; James Chalk, Jan. 31.

1770 Thomas Moulding the Father & Thomas Moulding the Son were buried Oct. 8th.

represents the uncommon occurrence of simultaneous burial of father and son, but that of mother and infant constantly occurs ; not infrequently the baptism of an infant is almost immediately followed by its death and that of its mother, for medical science was far less skilful then than now, and many of the country mothers must have been attended by absolutely unskilled midwives.

1754. Anne and Mary Twin daughters of . . Read and . . his wife were privately baptised March y^e 5th.

N. B. both wife & children are since dead.

There seems to have been a fashion in the middle of the eighteenth century of having children privately baptized—not on account of illness, as was the reason in the above case—for we find in both church registers constant entries of private baptism. It was the custom then, as long before, to baptize the child very soon after birth, and at one period, when the birth as well as baptism had to be entered in the church register, we find such entries as the following :

1697. Habbakuk y^e son of Willis & . . his wife was born and baptis May 7.

The following consecutive entries in 1787 are curious

1787. April. Mary Goldson from Margaretting.
 ——— ——— John Plat from Buttsbury.
 ——— May. Sarah Byford from Navestock.

Possibly they were old inhabitants, brought back to lie with their relations; possibly the three Rectors were away for a holiday, as happened on this occasion :

1780. July. Henry son of Mary Upsom from Margaretting parish, Mr Meadowcroft being out on a journey there was no duty done at his church.

But Mr. Meadowcroft often appears as taking duty in Fryerning at other times.

At the end of 1680 is the following note :

‘ Burials in woollen according to the late act of Parliament for burying in woollen, 1678.’

The Act, first passed in 1666 and made more stringent in 1678, was made to encourage the woollen trade of England, and especially for the benefit of Essex and the Eastern counties, where this trade then flourished; the manufacturers imagined they were being injured by the increase of the use of cotton and linen goods made in Ireland and the North of England, hence the passing of this Act, which compelled rich and poor alike to be buried in woollen, unless their relatives were prepared to pay a fine of £5, when the body might be buried in linen or any other material. So even the poor vagrant, who probably had none too many clothes to keep him warm in his life, was buried in woollen, as well as the richest parishioner.

For more than a hundred years, with the date of burial in the register is almost always noted the date of the affidavit stating this had been done, and often the name and parish of the person making it are mentioned.

1680. Thomas Pond, Gentleman, affidavit.

1702. Was buried the body of a vagrant man, by name unknown. November 30. Aff. made by Eliz. Whistock of ffryan.

There is no notice in the Fryerning book of any one paying the fine, and in the Ingatestone register affidavits are hardly mentioned; perhaps they were noted in a separate book.

One local connexion of our parishes with the history of the country is writ largely upon our registers, for in two periods the

names of many soldiers appear amongst the births, marriages, and deaths. The first time is about 1756, when George II, through his small kingdom of Hanover, was involved in many quarrels on the Continent, and was finally at war with France. It was during this war that Admiral Byng, being sent to Minorca with a small and badly equipped fleet, declined battle with the French, for which he was court-martialled and shot, 1757. Great excitement prevailed in England, for the French threatened invasion, and many soldiers were collected and quartered in the neighbourhood of London, and here in our village some were stationed for a while, amongst them Mordaunt's Dragoons, who were shortly after sent on a fruitless expedition to La Rochelle in France.

With the fear of the French invasion over, the soldiers disappear from our books for a time, but later in the century they return. The time is that of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon the Great, and now the soldiers appear in greater number than before and remain for many years. Hither came horse and foot soldiers, and militiamen from the shires, Scotland, and Wales, but no Essex or Eastern county men, for the service was unpopular, and had the militia been near their homes they would have deserted at harvest-time; so the Essex and Norfolk men were sent to dragoon the unhappy Irish, whilst Welsh and Somerset men were quartered in our parishes, ready to prevent any French troops, who might be landed at Harwich, from marching on to London by the high road that runs through our village.

1756. John Heald (a soldier in Mordaunt's Dragoons) and Susanah Gascoigne.

1759. William Sheppard, a soldier, and Elizabeth Springham.

1794. Thomas Giles, a private in the North Lincoln.

1795. Francis Inglesby, Hunts. Militia.

Radnorshire Militia, Pembrokeshire Militia, 20th Regiment of Foot, and Ayrshire Fencibles are all mentioned.

With 1812, our early books end, and thenceforward all is cut and dried and dull, as at the present day. In 1910 a working copy of the register was made by Mr. R. H. Browne, of Stapleford Abbots, who has copied so many of the local

INGATESTONE REGISTER

registers. It gives the names and dates, but is not a literal transcription.

The following remarks on the Ingatestone books may be of interest. 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' was used for innkeepers, tradespeople, and the well-to-do; a few of the higher gentry were described as 'Esquire'. 'Mrs.' was also used for unmarried women, never 'Miss'. 'Wagoner' is probably a carrier, a most important trade in old days. John Taylor, in his *Carrier's Cosmographie*, 1637, says, 'The Waines of Ingarstone in Essex doe come every Wednesday to the King's Arms in Leadenhall Street'. Rector Ewer sometimes puts in brackets the maiden name of a married woman, and he, and many others, in entering the baptism or death of an illegitimate child, almost always enter the name of the father, often with the remark 'as she declared', 'as he admitted'—a very wholesome practice of the old days, and one that might well be revived. (For obvious reasons I have not inserted these, with one exception.) The burial of stillborn children is frequently noted.

The early entries, which are in Latin, simply record date and names, with these exceptions:

1595. Mulier errabunda noñe incognita et postero die ipsius proles.
[A vagrant woman, name unknown, and her infant child next day.]

In 1595 John Silvester is described as of Spilfeathers, the first mention of any house in our register; the third entry is to be found on the centre of the opposite page, where I leave it for the amusement of my readers to decipher.

Very frequently the trades of the persons are mentioned, and not seldom the houses they lived in. Any tragic end is generally recorded, and Rector Ewer seldom fails to tell us in what part of the church he buried his parishioners, and how the coffins were arranged in the Petre vaults. The Plague, that looms so large in English histories, is here only occasionally mentioned, but small-pox, that newer and far more dreaded disease, occurs over and over again, and once we find measles:

1676. Alice da. of John Mountfort and Elizabeth of measles.

And Rector Ewer now and again mentions the weather or political happenings.

The book is so full of local interest that it is worthy of being transcribed in full, a task which is now being very kindly undertaken by Miss Tancock, under the supervision of that great authority, Canon Tancock, whose notes on our registers will be found in Appendix E.¹

¹ Mention of the old Church chests will also be found in Appendix E.

PETRE MONUMENT, INGATESTONE CHURCH

FRYERNING CHURCHYARD AND DISNEY TOMB

CHAPTER XII

INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENTS AND TOMBSTONES

FRYERNING INSCRIPTIONS

I HAVE followed the custom of the old County Histories in giving the inscriptions on the monuments of the wealthy parishioners, but unlike them I have added some on the headstones of those whom I may call the ordinary inhabitants; to me, personally, these humbler memorials are quite as interesting. The stones in Ingatestone churchyard have perished more than those at Fryerning, i.e. those with poetry upon them.

The inscription on the Berners family formerly in the chancel will be found under 'Brasses'.

The two memorials mentioned by A. Suckling in 1845 no longer exist, and probably disappeared at the restoration of 1870:

Here lieth the body of M^{rs} Margaret the wife of Henry Oates, who departed this life July 21, 1763, aged 35 years.

also:

Against the North Wall of the Chancel is a large shield containing the arms of Disney and his quarterings impaling Fitch.

Suckling gives a coloured illustration of the arms. They may be seen on the monument to Edgar Disney:

Sacred to the memory of Edgar Disney of the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex, and of Jericho, Blackmore, Esquire, Born 22nd December 1810, died 8th December 1881.

This is on the north wall; opposite are two tablets to Lieutenant Kortright. I give the one in brass:

In loving memory of Lieutenant Mounteney Kortright, 3rd (King's Own) Hussars, who died at Johannesburg of wounds received in action at Rietfontein, Sth Africa, 21st June 1900, aged 28. Erected by the Officers of 16th (Queen's) Lancers.

The marble one above has this addition :

With calm and heroic courage he gave his life to save the brigade from what would have been a terrible disaster.

Over the pulpit is a tablet to Dr. Stubbs :

Beneath the Altar
Are deposited the remains of
The Rev^d Richard Stubbs, D.D.
Rector of this parish xxix years
obiit Dec^r xxvi A.D. MDCCCX
aetatis suae LXV

Also
The remains of Pleasant Stubbs
Relict of the Rev^d R. Stubbs, D.D.
obiit Dec^r i. MDCCCXXX
aetatis suae LXXVII
and of Robert
Infant son of the above Richard
and Pleasant Stubbs.

King, in *Eccl. Essex* (Colchester Museum), describes a large hatchment : ' Kortright impaling Coesvelt. Both these families are of Dutch or Danish extraction, hence the bearing of a chief gules, on a field azure. Colour upon colour being a common feature in foreign heraldry.' Azure a cannon or on a chief gules two saltires and crescent of the second. Gules on a base vert a stork proper trussing a serpent of the second. In the chancel are two tablets :

Sacred to the memory of William Gordon Coesvelt, of St. Leonards in this parish, died at Rome, deeply lamented, 8 March, 1844, aged 78.

Sacred to the memory of William Gordon Coesvelt jnr, only son of William Gordon Coesvelt of St. Leonards, died at Montpelier, France, deeply lamented, 21 April, 1839, aged 45.

On the south side of the churchyard is a square tomb :

Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Richard Michell, D.D., 14 years Rector of this parish. Died Jan. 1st, 1826, aged 59 years.

Near by is an enclosure with three headstones to the memory of the Rev. W. E. Farrell (q.v.) and his family.

At the west end of the tower is a square tomb to Robert Sorrell, M.D., and his family. Not far off is this headstone :

Here resteth in hope of a Joyfull Resurrection the Body of M^r James Glascock. 1734.

There are many slabs and tombs of the Kortright family :

Cornelius Hendrickson Kortright of Maisonette, died at Cheltenham, 1818, aged 54. Juliana Kortright of Mill Green House, 1819, aged 50.

William Grant, Esq., of Demerara, died at Thoby Priory, Nov. 1822. [See Mill Green Park.]

There are several headstones of the early part of the eighteenth century that deserve attention ; they are evidently the work of the same artist. They are rather small, but of a much more durable stone than that commonly used (probably limestone) ; the letters are cut deeply and boldly, and above the inscription are always various devices—skull, cross-bones, hourglass, scythe, open book, &c., but the combination of design in no two cases is alike, and betokens the work of an artist. There are similar stones, evidently by the same hand, in Ingatestone, Stock, and Blackmore churchyards, and after long search I found two in Chelmsford (in the enclosure near the Shire Hall) : they are all of the same period.

[Above are skull, book, hourglass, balls, torch.]

In memory of / Peter Powell / junior[?] of this Parish who / departed this life April / the 9th 1719, aged 40 years. Vir vere honestus.

This stone is under the yew-tree beyond the chancel.

I am told by Mr. Stewart, whose grandparents lie in the adjacent graves, that Peter Powell was engaged in the leather trade, in the making of jerkins and breeches. Blackmore was a great centre of the industry, and the name of the old inn there, The Leather Bottle, still keeps the vanished trade alive in the memory of the inhabitants. In the register of 1705 we read : ‘ The Body of David Powell of Stepney in Middlesex was buried March 11 ’. This may very probably have been a relation. The inscription *Vir vere honestus*, ‘ a very honest man ’, seems to speak well of the quality of the leather garments Mr. Powell supplied.

Near the south side of the tower is a stone to Thomas Bonham, who died in 1776, aged 73, and his widow Rosamund Bonham, who died in 1805, aged 84. Rosamund Bonham has left a happy memorial of herself in a legacy of £100 to the poor of Fryerning, the income of which still gladdens the

hearts of the recipients. She and her husband Thomas, who was at one time churchwarden, owned and kept the Woolpack for many years. After the death of her husband Rosamond leased it to Isaac Atkins, and at her death bequeathed it to her cousin Rolf, of Mill Green and Much Easter. Both she and her husband had many relatives amongst the tradesmen in the neighbouring villages. Thomas Bonham left a provision in his will that he should be buried by 11 o'clock of the forenoon : at that time the practice was to bury at night.

The following is one of the oldest stones in the churchyard :

Here lyeth the Body of Mary Harris, wife of John Harris of this Parish, who Departed this life the 31st day of December 1699, aged 58 years. Here lyeth also the Body of the said John Harris, who departed this life the 14th day of February 1704, aged 61 years.

This is one of the deeply-cut limestones and has at the top leaves and cornstalk, skull and cross-bones. Adjoining it is the earliest tombstone in the churchyard, also of limestone, with skull and cross-bones :

Here lyeth the / body of John Harris / who departed this life the 15th of July 1693, aged 25 years and 5 months.

In the early part of the nineteenth century a poet must have flourished in the neighbourhood, for we find many verses on the headstones of that date, some of which I quote :

William Dawson, Citizen and Draper, of Newgate Street, London, 19 March, 1817, aged 30 years.

Stranger that hither bends thy sober way
To hear what truth shall dictate or to pray,
Learn from these ashes from this mouldring dust
A truth sooner or later learn you must.
Know this, that God alone can kill or save ;
He bringeth down and lifteth from the grave ;
Not youth nor health nor other excepting Him,
But Christ His own in mercy will redeem.

John Banister / 20 Aug 1805 /
A Friend to many and a Foe to none,
No further seek his merits to disclose
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode ;
There they alike in trembling hope repose
The Bosom of his Father and his God.

Near the yew-trees by the porch there are several stones to the Talbot family, some of whom were innkeepers in the palmy days of the stage-coaches and have been described to me by Mr. Gardner as 'quite gentlemen':

John Talbot 1802, aged 46. Mrs Ann and Mr Thomas Talbot. Martha Armfield his daughter 1834.

A wife more loving never man possessed,
A fonder mother never children blessed,
Affliction weaned her from her earthly joys,
And now better Love her soul employs.

There are also round the yew-trees several headstones and tombs of the Hogg family, who were for many years respected residents here:

Mrs Sarah Hogg / wife of Mr Benjamin Hogg / of this Parish / who departed this Life / Jan 5th 1802 / aged 32 years /

Thy morning Flower has dropt its blooming head
And thou art numbered here among the Dead.
Rest, precious Dust, till Heaven thy worth reveal;
Thy Judge will publish what thy Friends conceal.

Mr John Read / late of this Parish / died Sept 30, 1801 / aged 53 years.

Tho' health may flatter yet beware to trust,
To-morrow's Sun may see you laid in Dust.
How often does the Messenger of Death
Unlook'd for come and snatch the vital Breath.

Adjoining this stone is one to Elizabeth Read, 1827, aged 81.

There is one headstone that awakens our gratitude to the good man who lies below; to his thoughtfulness we owe the beautiful Scotch firs which adorn our churchyard and still wave their branches over his grave:

Sacred to the memory of
Mr Samuel Perry
Many years Churchwarden
of this Parish
who departed this Life
March 29, 1811
aged 69 years.

Rear'd by his Care these ambient shades arose
Midst which his reliques now in peace repose,
And where this frail memorial stands to prove
The Parent's merit and his Children's love.

The Disney monument is a large square tomb on the north side of the churchyard, surmounted by a classic urn and a tall pillar bearing round its abacus this inscription, thus divided :

South side

SIBI ET

East

SUIS

North

POSTERIS

West

QU. EORUM

(for himself, his family, and their posterity).

On the south face are the following inscriptions :

H · S · S / Joannes · Disney · S T P · S A S / vir · doctus · justus · venerabilis / qui · v · AN · LXX · M · III · D · VIII / ob · xxvi · D · Decemb · A · S · MDCCCXVI.

Joannes · Disney / Nepos · e · filio · illius / puer · ingenuus · pius · q / qui · v · AN · XI · M · VI · D · XXII / suis · carus / ob · xx · D · Decemb · A · S · MDCCCXIX / Desideratissimus.

Sophia Disney / youngest daughter of the late / Lewis Disney ffytche, Esq / of Danbury Place in this County / and wife of John Disney, Esq / of the Hyde / born 15 December 1777 / died 26 January 1856.

John Disney, Esq., F.R.S., LL.D. / of the Hyde / eldest son of the late / Rev John Disney, D.D. / born 29 May 1779 / died 6 May 1857.

On the east face :

Edgar Disney, Esq^{re} / of the Hyde / second son of the late / John Disney, Esq^{re} / born 22nd Dec^r 1810 / died 8th Dec^r 1881.

Barbara Disney / wife of / Edgar Disney / born 11th Sep^r 1811 / died 21st Nov^r 1896.

In memory of / Ada Barbara Disney / youngest daughter of the late / Edgar Disney / born 15th Feb. 1847, died 25th June, 1894.

Reginald Disney / youngest son of the late / Edgar Disney / of the Hyde / born 6th August 1849 / died at Pietermaritzburg, South Africa / Nov. 29th, 1896.

Mrs. Disney, the wife of Dr. Disney, lies on the south side of the churchyard, with a headstone bearing the inscription :

Jane Disney / died October 11, MDCCCIX / aged LXIII years.

Below are the Disney arms, with the Blackburn arms impaled.

On a small square tomb close to the Disney tomb, with urn on the top, is the following inscription :

Beneath this tomb / lie the mortal remains of / Mary Frances Jervis / daughter of the late / Rev. John Disney, D.D. / of the Hyde / and wife of the late / Rev. Thomas Jervis / born August 7, 1775 / died Dec^r 19, 1860.

The south side is almost illegible, but is to her husband, the Rev. Thomas Jervis. He appears to have worked in Leeds, and published many books.

On a large brick tomb under the yew-tree at the south-east angle of the chancel:

Here lieth the Body of / Christopher Cusack, Esq. / late of Furze Hall in this Parish / who died June 2nd 1796, aged 73 years / He was the youngest son of / Christopher Cusack, Esq. / of Rathaldron Castle in the County of Meath / in the Kingdom of Ireland / Also of / Elizabeth widow of the above / who died April 21st 1837 / And of Louisa / their only daughter / who died March the 28th 1846 / aged 65.

Close behind the Cusack tomb:

Here lies interred / Richard Rudge / ob. Sept^{br} the 2nd 1744 / aetat suae 35.

The following entry is in the register, date about 1760:

Rich ^d Rudge paid M ^r Hillier Curate for setting up a Head and foot stone to a grave in the Church Yard thirteen shillings and fourpence	}	witness of this Rich ^d Cable the old Chu: Clerk o . 13 . 4.
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The Willis tomb stands between the eastern yew and the entrance gate, and bears the names of Samuel Willis, of Fryerning Hall, died Dec. 5, 1859, aged 49, and Rebecca, his widow, died July 22, 1901, in her 90th year.

A little behind the Willis tomb is this stone:

Sacred / to the memory of / M^r James Andrews / (late of Fryerning Hall in this Parish / where he resided 48 years) / who died 31st of July 1833 / aged 82 years / Also of / Christiana / wife of the above / who died the 7th of Augst 1840 / aged 74 years.

Near the entrance gate:

Sacred / to the memory of / William Palmer, Surgeon / late of Mendelsham, Suffolk, / who departed this life / on the 3rd day of July 1813 / aged 82 years / Also of Christian his wife / [who died] 1822, aged 84 years.

The old surgeon is said to have practised for many years at Billericay.

Behind the eastern yew-tree are the headstones of William and Mary Turnedge, and their daughter the wife of Mr. Coller, the Essex historian.

Sacred / to the memory of / Mary Ann / wife of D. W. Collier / died Nov. 17, 1843, aged 36 years.

In vain the muse would bid this marble show
The matron's virtues and the husband's woe.
The woman's cheerful mind, the Christian's worth,
That wreath'd affection round her happy hearth.
The heart alive to pity's melting call,
The tear for many and the prayer for all :
Those are engrav'd by love's recording art
Not on cold stone but on the living heart ;
And these preserve the history of her life
Where memory shrines the mother and the wife.

Also behind the eastern yew-tree :

Sacred / to the memory / of Mr Thomas Eames / Citizen and Liveryman of / London / who departed this life June 10th 1802 / aged 55 years.

Forgive, Blest shade, thy sorrowing Widow's Tear,
Who mourns thy exit from a World like this :
Forgive the Wish that would have kept thee here
And stay'd thy Progress to the Seats of Bliss.

Also / Mrs Susanna Eames / (mother to the above) / who died August the 30th 1801 / aged 91 years.

Also near the same yew-tree is the headstone of the musical postmaster :

Sacred / to the memory of / William Whichcord / late postmaster of Ingatestone, which / responsible office he filled / for thirty-eight years, with zeal / integrity and ability / who departed this life on the 13th day / of May 1838 / aged 77 years. / Also of Sarah, relict of the above, / who died February the 21st 1851 / aged 79 years / Also of Charles son of the above / who died August the 4th, 1840 / aged 38 years. /

INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENTS IN INGATESTONE CHURCH

For Petre monuments see Chap. XVII.

The following inscriptions are from Holman's MS., now at Colchester, which I was permitted to see by the courtesy of the Corporation and Mr. Wright, the Curator.

On the North Side of the Communion Table is a grey stone, at the head 3 Eagles with wings display'd, crest an Eagle's Head ; underneath, this inscription :

Dæpositum Richardi Pulley Generosi / Juris municipalis practici Integerrimi / Qui publicis negotiis Famam sibi creavit / plusquam

privatam / Forestæ limitem dedit Terminum / Pacis evasit publice
Clericus / privata Dominus Æterna cultor / quam placide aspiravit
Fideliter / prid. Cal. Novemb. / Aⁿ Sal Humã 1648 / Hanc memoriam
charissimi mariti / consecrat posteritati / Maria Relicta mæstissima.

The following must be the stone to Mrs. Bridget Cartaret.
See Old Mill Green House.

. . . Edward Cartaret Esq^r Uncle to my L^d Cartaret and d^r of Sir
Tho Exton relict of Clutterbuck of y^e Hide Esq^r and also of Sir John
Sudbury K^t w^h lived at Mill Green House in this prsh.

In the middle Isle of the Church on a black marble the following :

In Sacram uxoris Charissime / suæ memoriam.

Here lyeth Mary late Ezekiell Eldred's wife
Who lived an humble virtuous and religious life
Her days the last hour of ye old yeare ended
Her Soule from earth to heav'n is now ascended

obiit ultimæ horæ Decembris Anno Dōm 1635 / Ætatis suæ 41 / vivit
post funera virtus. Next this place lyeth Buried Johnn / Mary and
William 3 of y^e children / of zekiell Eldred and / Mary.
John and Mary dyed at their / severall ages of 6 yeares and William /
at the age of three weekes.

On the North Side the table is likewise a grey marble stone on
which was a man enlayed in Brass with an Inscription under him but
they are both gone, over his head remains an escutcheon in Brass
viz. Quarterly of 4, 1 and 4 a Bear rampant, 2 and 3 so mutilated as
not to be made out.

These particulars were furnished by Dr. Dale, who visited
this district for Holman; the latter subsequently identified them
as below. The escutcheon still remains, and 2 and 3 are clearly
3 fish in pale.

Of yo^r charite pray for the Soule of Master Eustace Bernard w^h
deceased 17 July 1518 on whose Soule &c.

Esch. Quarterly 1 & 4 a Bear salient, 2 & 3 within a Border Engr^r
3 Salmon $\frac{1}{3}$

These arms appear to be Bernard with Lilling or Lucy
quartered; Holman quoted this and the following from
Symond's *Collect.*, vol. iii, fol. 303.

Hic jacet dñs Thomas Holmys quondam Rector huj⁹ Eccliã qui
ob. 18 Dec 1492.

At the door going out of the Chancel into the South Chantry lyeth
a stone on which is a brass plate with the following inscription in old
English letters.

Here lyeth the bodies of George Clyff and Cateryn Clyff y^e sonne and daughter of John Cliff one of the Clerks of the Signet and of Anne his weif w^{ch} George deceased an infant in the second yere of his age and the said Cateryn died the last of June 1576 and fifteenth yere of her age God grant them a blessed Resurrection.¹

At the West end of the South Isle on a black marble is the following :

Here lyeth interred the body of / M^r Thomas Jones / Gentleman late of / the parish of Ingatestone. He de / parted this life on the xxvth day of / November in the year of our Lord / M DCC XVI (and as it is reputed) in the / LXXth year of his age.

In the churchyard against the South Door is a grey stone raised on brick on which,

Suæ certæ Resurrectionis fælicis / Here lyeth interred the Body of M^r / John Mountfort / who departed this life the 25th day / of June Anno Domini 1698 / aged 54 years.

Under the South side of the Steeple 2 tombs of purbeck stone raised on Brick. On the outermost :

Here / lyeth the Body of / Thomas Barker who departed / this Life July y^e 15th 1678 and also / the Body of Esther Cowland / who departed this Life february / y^e 20th 1696.

On y^e nearest to y^e Steeple this inscription :

Here / also lieth the Body of / M^{rs} Mary Man and their son John / wife of M^r Joseph Man and the / daughter of the said Thomas / and granddaughter of the said / Esther who departed this life / October y^e 17th, 1701.

These are all taken from Holman's notes ; they have now disappeared or are hidden under the seats.

On the east wall of the south chancel is the half-length effigy of a man, done in grey marble, enclosed in an oval stone frame ; and below it this inscription :

Captaine John / Troughton ;
Obiit 19^o April 1621,
Æta. suæ
66.

‘ He must have been in his prime at the death of Queen Elizabeth, and unless he earned a name during her eventful reign, he would hardly have the opportunity of doing so in the quiet reign of James I. Who he was, how he became connected with Ingatestone, and why he is buried there, I have at present been unable to trace. ’²

¹ For other members of the Clyff family see pp. 169, 217.

² F. Chancellor, *Sep. Mon. Ess.*

On the south wall near door :

In Memory of / Thomas Walmesley / of Showley in the County of Lancaster, Esq^r / who died the 12th of May 1775 / aged 54 years / James Walmesley / uncle to the said Thomas / who died the 7th day of April 1777 / aged 75 years / Requiescant in Pace Amen, / ✠ / also Mrs Margaret Colegrave / sister to the said James Walmesley / who departed this Life the 24th of April 1768 / also Richard the Infant Son of / Thomas and Susan Walmesley 1829 /

On the pier opposite the pulpit :

Dame / Cornelia Bertruda / Piers / Widow of the late / Sir John Piers, Bart. / of the Kingdom of Ireland / and late Wife of / John Howard, Esq. / of Huskards in this Parish / Departed this Life Jan. 14 1777, Aged 73 / A Sincere Christian /

How lov'd how valu'd once, avails thee not,
To whom related, or by whom begot,
A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
T'is all THOU art ; and all the PROUD shall be.

On the same pillar is a brass tablet :

In memory of Clement Winstanley, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., of this parish, who died 17th Jan. 1891. To record the untiring zeal, energy, and kindness with which he ministered to the sick and poor during a residence of 15 years, a fund was raised amounting to £247 : 6 : 6. with a portion of which this tablet was erected. The remainder was invested, and the income produced is to be devoted to the purchase of medical appliances and comforts for the sick poor of the parishes of Ingatestone, Fryerning and Margaretting.

Over the pulpit :

Sacred to the memory of / Charles Brooke Hurlock / only son of Brooke Baines Hurlock, Esq. / (of the Maisonette in this parish) / and Charlotte his wife / died on the 22nd day of May, 1830 / in the 16th year of his age.

On the north wall :

In memory of Richard Morton Wood, Lieutenant Inniskilling Dragoons, who served in the regiment from Oct. 3 1900 until his death, which took place at Docklands, Ingatestone, January 6, 1908. Erected by his brother officers.

In the centre of the Chancel aisle at the foot of the steps :

Timothy Brand, Esq / who departed this Life Jan : ye 25th 1734 / aged 51 years / Sarah Brand / Relict of Timothy Brand, Esq / Died July 3^d 1744 / aged . . years [no age given].

On the north wall between the organ and vestry :

'Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. / of the Hyde / F.R.S., and S.A. / died Sept. 1X, M DCCC IV, aged LXXXIV / In Testimony of Friendship and Gratitude this Monument is erected / by John Disney, D.D., F.S.A.

Immediately below it :

Sacred / to the Memory / of / Edgar Disney / of the Hyde / Ingatestone, Essex / and of / Jericho, Blackmore, Esquire. / born 22nd December 1810 / died 8th December 1881.

Above are the Disney arms.

On the floor of the middle aisle near north door :

Here rest the Remains of / M^r Tho^s Sandford / of Trueloves in this Parish / who died December 11, 1765 / aged 40 years / Also of / M^{rs} Ann Sandford / Relict of the said Tho^s / who died May 14, 1778 / aged 54 years / This stone was here placed to their Memory / by order of their only Son / Capt. Tho^s Sandford / Then in America in the Year 1780.

On the wall near the north door :

Near this Place / Lieth interred the Body of / Thomas Pease / who departed this Life / October the 26th 1781 / aged 72 years / Also of / Elizabeth his Wife / who died Sep^r the 9th 1785 / aged 85 years / Requiescant in Pace.

On the floor of the south chancel, near the rood-loft entrance, partly covered by a seat :

Here lyeth ye B . . / Mal FFogarty Esq. . . . / Enigo FFogarty in y^e . . . / of Ireland who . . . / Steward 18 years . . . / Hon^{ble} Thom: Lo . . . / . . him sole Executor . . / his departing this Life / . . of June 1702 /

Above are the ffogarty arms.

East of this in the south aisle is another, still more covered by hot-water pipes :

Hic jacet Robertu . . . ng Vir eximius / . . . itus / Amsi . . . mis natus / Qui obiit . . . die martii / . . uae 76 / Requiescat in Pace /

At the foot of the Altar steps, north side :

To the Pious Memory of Frances / Austin y^e Beloved Wife of James / Austin of the County of Surrey / Esq. obiit the 3^d of November / 1698 / Chase hence all tears unless / a Deluge bee / Virtue and Worth lyes / Buried in thee / Here lyeth also the Body of James Austin / Esq., eldest son of S^r James Austin / who departed this life the 6th day of August / 1699 / Sustenit et abstenet.

On the floor near the south-east pillar is a stone with no

name, but a coat-of-arms; this is the Bernard escutcheon mentioned by Holman.

There were in old days the following memorials, all but one of which have long disappeared. They are described in a MS. now in the British Museum :

Here lyeth the body of John Clyff, esq., one of the Clerks of the Queen's Majestyes Signett, who maryed to his first wife Margrett Somaster one of the daughters of John Somaster of [?] ford in the County of Devon esq., and he had by her one sonne named John & two daughters named Anne & Mary, and had to his second wife Anne Kebyll daughter of George Kebill, esq., by whom he had two sonnes John & George, & two daughters, Katheryn & Margrett. He deceased the 11 day of May in the year of Our L^d God 1588.

Above the description in the MS. two shields are sketched, and names written over—one Cliff and Somaster, the other Clyff and Kebyll—Clyff: argent, a Chevron between 3 popin-jays vert. Somaster: a castle, triple towered, between 8 fleur-de-lys sable. Kebyll: argent, a chevron engrailed, on a chief 3 mullets. According to W. Berry's *Heraldry*, these are the arms of the Yorkshire branch of the Clyffe family.

Here lyeth Katheryne Kebyll the wife of George Kebyll & the daughter of S^r Thomas Tyrrell of Heron Court, Knight, who died the 24th April 1599 about the 70 year of her age.

Hic jacet Gertrude filia John Tyrrell de Warley equitis Aurati Coniux prima prenobilis viri Gulielmi Petri et Equitis Aurati quae obiit 28 May 1541.¹

Hic jacet Johes Rochford armiger filius Dni Radulphi Rochford militis qui obiit primo die mensis Novembris Anno Dni 1441, et anno R. R. Henry Sexti 23.²

Above this last inscription also there are sketched in the MS. two shields, but in this case no names are given. Quarterly 1 and 4 manche, 2 plain, 3 bend. The other shield quarterly 1 and 4 a cross within a bordure platé, 2 and 3 an eagle displayed.

CHURCHYARD.

The brick mausoleum of the Lewis family :

EAST SIDE. Harriott the beloved wife of the Rev^d John Lewis / Rector of this parish, who died March 16th 1833 / Sarah Julia the

¹ This still remains in the sanctuary.

² Harl. MS. 6072.

beloved daughter of the above / who died January 8th 1831 / Maria Louisa de Neufville the beloved / daughter of the above who died October 2nd 1836 / The Rev. John Lewis M. A. / 57 years Rector of this parish / Died February the 25th 1853, aged 86 years.

Elizabeth Pryor Thomasine / youngest daughter of the above / Wife of the Rev^d D. Olivier Etough, Rector of Outeragh / c^o Leitrim, Ireland / died Feb^y the 11th, 1855.

NORTH SIDE. Augustus, son of Charles Carne Lewis / (Infant, died April 18th 1834) / Amphilis Sarah Lewis / died June 11th, 1836 / Louisa Ann Lewis / died January 24th 1837 / Mary Anne Truston / The beloved wife of Charles Carne Lewis, Esq. / Died at Brentwood July 10th 1871 / Charles Carne Lewis / 18 years Coroner for the County of Essex / Died July 26th 1882 /

WEST SIDE. Sacred to the memory of Mary Heatley, widow of the late Richard Heatley of Shenfield Place, Esq. / who died December 30th, 1839, aged 89 years.

Arthur Davis Heatley / son of Richard and Georgiana R. K. Heatley / died April 18th 1843, aged 8 years / Georgiana Richards Kelly / The beloved wife of Richard Heatley, Esq / died February 5th 1846, aged 55 years / Warner R. R. Davis Heatley / son of the above / Died November 10th 1848, aged 22 years / Richard Heatley, Esq. / Died January 29th 1864, aged 83 years / Mary Ellen Heatley / died October 26th 1853, aged 76 years /

Adjoining the great brick mausoleum, to the north, lies buried :

Elizabeth Anne / The beloved wife of / Richard Lewis / died May 8th 1873 /

Dr. Richard Lewis, I am told, is buried in the same or the adjoining grave, but no one has carved his name on the stone.

Adjacent, to the east, lies their only child :

Richard Dibdin Lewis / who died October 8th 1906 / aged 60 years / Also of Emilie Augusta / who died January 22nd 1909 / aged 62 years / wife of above.

Wright gives the following pleasing inscription (vol. i, p. 151), now nearly effaced ; it is on a headstone beneath the centre east window :

Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Clarkson, who, having performed the duties of the chapel at Ingatestone Hall during seventeen years, died at that place February the 13th, 1823, aged 50 years.

In this small spot, last home for man design'd,
 John Clarkson rests, the honest, good, and kind.
 His manly mind no wild ambition fir'd,
 No pride debas'd, no envious thoughts inspir'd.
 His constant aim, to be to all a friend ;
 With pastoral care his little flock to tend ;
 With indigence to share his slender store,
 And wants he could not remedy, deplore ;
 To still contention where he saw it rise ;
 To check the tongue of slander in disguise ;
 Make friendship reign, cause enmity to cease,
 And pour in every heart the balm of peace.
 Such was the man himself, such his employ,
 Such his life's pleasure, such in death his joy.
 Calm and content, his path through life he trod ;
 Calm and resign'd, he breath'd his soul to God.
 Here reader, pause, and if thou hast a tear
 To shed o'er worth departed, shed it here.

R. I. P.

Also at the eastern end of the Church are these tombstones :

The Right Hon^l Rob^t Edw^d / Lord Petre / Placed this grateful
 Memorial / over the Remains of / M^{rs} Ann Davy, who after a Faithful
 Service in his Lordship's Family of fifty years died on y^e 27th
 September, 1808.

Here resteth in hopes / of a Glorious Resurrection / the Body of
 M^{rs} Ann / Wickwar wife of M^r / W^m Wickwar who / departed this life
 the 31st / of October 1733 in the 27th / year of her age.

Here lyeth the body of M^{rs} / Elizabeth wife of M^r John Ware
 [Wade?] and / daughter of M^r Thomas / Cooke of Worcester who /
 departed this life the 15th / day of Nov^r 1740 in the

Square tomb on the north side of the churchyard :

In memory of / John eldest son of / Cornelius Butler / late of
 Shrivenham in the County of Berks / who died 31st August 1797 / in
 the 56th year of his age.

Stay, passenger, why goes thou by so fast,
 Before in time thy fatal

Amongst the headstones at the eastern end of the churchyard are the following :

In memory of Ann Coverdale / the wife of / John Coverdale / who
 departed this life / May 8th 1777 / aged 36 years.

Several other Coverdale headstones are close by, the later
 ones ending *R. I. P.*

There are also headstones to Thomas Hourd, 1780; Thomas Newby, 1796; Mrs. Margaret, wife of Lewis Cockram.

Square tomb in churchyard, east end of north side:

Elizabeth wife of Edward Owen / obiit Die xiv Julii / Anno Domini M DCCC / Aetatis Suae xxiii.

Behold ye thoughtless gay and giddy young
How soon your round of pleasure may be done
Here lov'd Eliza early lies entomb'd
In youthful vigour Blasted as she bloom'd.
Learn hence the fleeting Worth of present joy
The morning's Bliss the Evening may destroy.

.

At the east end of the south chapel is an altar tomb. On its east face it bears the name of Cornelius Butler, died 1859. This was the well-known local doctor, still remembered by a few, and spoken of as a courteous, kindly man. On one side are the names of Elizabeth Laver of Huskards, d. 1828, and her son and grandson; on the other her husband, Robert Laver, and Mrs. Cornelius Butler, d. 1817—possibly the mother of the doctor. One of the Miss Lavers married Mr. Hogg (p. 209).

Robert Clift, who resided 54 years at the Grange, died Dec. 23rd 1897, aged 92. Also Susannah his wife, died March 26th 1875, aged 80.

There are also headstones to the Self family, who have long lived here, the late Mr. Self being for very many years churchwarden. There are also stones to the family of Mr. Joseph Crush of Trueloves in 1802. Mr. Crush was buried here in 1827, though he died at High Roothing. He came of an old Essex family, that was in possession of Duke's Manor, Roxwell, for many generations, and claimed to be descended from the St. Croix (St. Clere?), a Norman family who came over at the time of the Conquest.¹

¹ Morant, vol. ii, pp. 28, 74. I am indebted to Mrs. Kortright for this information.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER CHURCHES

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

AFTER the Reformation the Petre family and many of their fellow parishioners still followed the old form of worship. Politics and religion were in those days greatly mixed, and for very many years the party in the ascendant discountenanced by law, under pain of death, or heavy penalty, any form of worship but that acceptable to themselves. Under these conditions it was impossible for those who held allegiance to the See of Rome to worship openly with the old form of ritual; they were therefore driven to secrecy, like the Christians in the Catacombs of Rome; but these services were winked at by their neighbours, as long as no political plotting accompanied them. Here, then, for generations the followers of the Pope met, year after year, even as they do at the present time, in the chapel at Ingatestone Hall; supplemented now by the little chapel at the Almshouses, so convenient for the old folk whose age and infirmities prevent some of them worshipping in the older but more distant chapel. The church at Ingatestone Hall was originally only a tiny chapel for the household—just a square, under part of the long corridor; it was greatly enlarged in the 1860's to meet the requirements of the parishioners. It is dedicated to those saints so connected with Ingatestone—St. Erconwald, a prince to whom the parish largely belonged, and who was for many years Bishop of London, and St. Ethelburga his sister, the first Abbess of Barking, to whom her brother gave his property here.¹ They flourished about 680, and both left behind them a reputation of great saintliness. The Bishop was buried in Old St. Paul's, over the

¹ There seems, however, some doubt about this, as the authenticity of the Charter in St. Erconwald's name is now much disputed. See remarks by Mrs. Christy in Part I.

for the purpose of holding services, and during that period a number of different men ministered to the people, being paid a small sum each for that purpose.

In 1812 a building was erected upon the site of the present one, and duly registered as "a Place of Religious Worship by an Assembly of Protestants" by Randolph, Lord Bishop of London. In the following year a student from Hackney College, Benjamin Hayter by name, was invited to preach with a view to filling the vacant pastorate. He responded, and eventually became the first ordained Congregational minister in Ingatestone.

Since the erection of the first building, the chapel has been enlarged twice and rebuilt once. It was enlarged in the years 1816 and 1876 respectively, and rebuilt in the year 1840. During that period there have been ten ministers. The Sunday School was added to the Chapel in the year 1876, and the Manse in the year 1897.'

In 1881 a Mission Room at Mountnessing was built on land given by Mr. J. Stacey Reeve, of Chelmsford, and opened the same year. On Thursday evenings a service is held there by the Ingatestone Minister, and on Sundays there is a service conducted by lay preachers in connexion with Ingatestone Chapel.

E. H. N. W.

GINCE PETRE ALMSHOUSES

CHAPTER XIV

CHARITIES

FRYERNING is better off than Ingatestone in charities, for many benefactors have left or given her money. Several of these gifts were distributed in bread, a remembrance of the old days when wheaten bread was too dear for the poor to be able often to afford it. In 1905 a scheme was drawn up enabling the income to be dealt with rather differently: this received the assent of the Charity Commissioners, and the income of £20 19s. 8d. is at present distributed as follows. The Trustees have given yearly two pensions of £5 per annum to widows or infirm people, and distributed the other £10 in Christmas gifts to widows and to residents over sixty. The new scheme appears to work well and to be an improvement on the old way. We may miss the quaint scene at the distribution of bread, of which we hear in Rector Price's time, but it is pleasanter for the recipients of the charity not to be greeted by the unsuccessful applicants with the jeers of 'there go the deserving poor', as happened in old days as they returned from St. Leonards with bundles of clothes.

Ingatestone possesses but two benefactions, that of Rector Thomas Ralph, who in 1755 left 20s. a year to be given in bread at Easter, and that of Mrs. Rosamond Bonham, who in 1805 bequeathed the interest on £100 Consols for the support of the Sunday School. These are allowed to accumulate for two years. In 1806 Mrs. Hannah Raynor left £50, the interest to go to the inmates of the almshouse; this is now merged in the other almshouse funds.

THE GINGE PETRE CHARITY.

Perhaps the reason that Ingatestone has so few other gifts is the fact that the Petre charity formerly supplied many doles, almshouses for ten persons, and gifts at Christmas to twenty, and at Easter to forty. The almshouses and charity attached

were founded by Sir William Petre in Queen Mary's reign (1557), as a compromise with the Holy See of Rome on being allowed to keep the Church lands he had so plentifully acquired in Henry VIII's reign. As the Barking Monastery, whose lands he took here, would have largely supported the poor of the parish, this was a very equitable arrangement. So on the 27th of November, 1555, Sir Wm. Petre procured a Bull from Pope Paul IV, confirming him in the possession of the Church lands, and on July 7, 1557, the Ginge Petre Charity was founded by Letters Patent, Philip and Mary, the second and fourth years of their reign.

Undoubtedly these almshouses were founded by Sir William Petre in Queen Mary's reign for the benefit of Roman Catholics, but it should not be forgotten that at that time all were bound by law to conform to the old form of worship, and if they refused they were in considerable peril of their lives. With the death of Mary and advent of Elizabeth all was changed again; the boot was on the other foot, and safety lay in conforming to the reformed worship. The powers that be would certainly not have let such a wealthy charity as that of Ginge Petre be administered in the interests of the Papists, whom they regarded, rightly or wrongly, as disaffected to the Government, and the 'Minister' would no longer be a Papist priest, but a Protestant priest of the Reformed Church; therefore even in Sir William Petre's lifetime the benefit must have drifted away from his co-religionists, and the Protestant Rector of Ingatestone have become the 'Minister' whom Morant mentions as priest to the hospital. I have not seen a list of the priests of this charity, but Rector Willis of Ingatestone appears in the Ship Money list, 1637, as 'Minister of the Hospital'. The pensioners were always appointed by Lord Petre, though the selection would appear to have been made by the Protestant Rectors until about 1835.

This was shortly after the Catholic Emancipation Act, and with the last of their civil disabilities removed the Roman Catholics began to lift up their heads, and very naturally endeavoured to secure some of the rights from which they had been so long harshly excluded. Canon Last, a young, vigorous

and popular man, was priest at Ingatestone Hall at that time, and with the support of Lord Petre he asserted the right of the Roman Catholics to enjoy the benefit of the Ginge Petre charity, of which they had been deprived for so many years, and Rector Lewis apparently concurred. What exactly passed I have not discovered; all those concerned in the change are dead, and if any papers passed they are not to hand, but it is a matter of common report that the change was made by Canon Last. A new set of rules was made and sealed by William Henry Francis, 11th Baron Petre, and witnessed by George Shaw and Joseph Coverdale, on the 2nd of November, 1840. In the new deed the old one is partly recited, from which it is evident that the Patron was always to be Sir William Petre and his heirs; it seems but reasonable therefore that the Petres should wish the benefits to go once more to their co-religionists, and though one wishes there might be no religious distinctions, it is almost impossible to avoid them, when from the earliest days of the foundation of the charity it has been the duty of the pensioners to attend service, conducted by the Priest appointed by Lord Petre. Whether the Roman Catholics were entirely excluded in old days I do not know, but under the new rules the pensioners must be Roman Catholics. Their rooms consist of bedroom, sitting-room, and scullery, and in addition to these they receive 5/- a week and a ton of coal a year, and about 18/6 at Christmas in lieu of a livery gown. Besides the ten residents, there are five externs paid small pensions out of the funds of the charity. The coal frequently given to elderly people of all denominations at Christmas is Lord Petre's private gift.

The old almshouses were in Stock Lane, where two cottages still remain, possibly part of Sir William Petre's original building. When the Eastern Counties Railway came through the parish, taking its line right through the Charity ground, Lord Petre obtained a good sum from the Company, which, with an additional sum given by himself, was used in building the present almshouses—in 1840. Morant's account of the Charity will be found in the Appendix, and also the Letters Patent of Philip and Mary.

The new almshouses on the high road were built in 1840 round three sides of a square with the little chapel in the centre. There is accommodation for ten inmates, two men and five women being on the foundation, and one man and two women supernumeraries. The men no longer reckon as freeholders with a vote, as they did in the old Stock Lane days. Whilst physically able, the inmates are expected to attend service, and are liable to dismissal on bad behaviour. They must be unmarried or widowed and over 40, and be content to live a chaste life, must obey the Priest who is Governor over them, attend service in the chapel, and say prayers when they rise from their bed and before they lie in their bed. They are also to attend each other in time of sickness—a rule, Father Grant fears, sometimes more honoured in the breach than the observance; no visitors may stay except in case of illness. Applicants from any parish in which Lord Petre has estates have priority of appointment if suitable.

The charity is a Body corporate, consisting of Lord Petre, the Priest, and the seven pensioners on the foundation called the Poor of Ginge Petre. This Corporation does all the business of the estate of the charity, and once a year a general meeting is held, at which all on the foundation are bound to attend, the accounts are produced and passed, leases revised, granted, and sealed, and the rules read. The seal is the Petre arms: gules, a bend or between escallops argent, the shield supported by an angel and bearing the motto *Sigill domi hospitalis de Ingatestone. W.P.*

E. H. N. H.

SIR W. PETRE'S TOMB, INGATESTONE CHURCH

CHAPTER XV

SIR WILLIAM PETRE

EXIT the great landowner the Abbess of Barking, enter the great landowner Petre. For many centuries much of the land in our parishes had been in the grip of the Monasteries; for nearly four centuries it has been in the hands of William Petre's descendants.

Great were the changes that passed over the land in the time of Henry VIII, and many the new families that sprang into power and property, and not least among the men who benefited was William Petre, whose effigy, lying by the side of his second wife, is so familiar to us on the beautiful tomb in the chancel of Ingatestone Church. Son of John Petre, a rich and successful tanner in Devonshire, William was born at Tor Newton about 1505 (?); he was educated at that great West country College of Exeter, at Oxford, from whence he was elected Fellow of All Souls in 1523, and then went to France, where he stayed about four years.

From his youth he must have been a capable, pushing, insinuating man. He was only about thirty in 1536, when he was already in high favour with both Cranmer and Cromwell, already deputy Vicar-General and Master in Chancery. In June he was found presiding at the deliberations of Convocation, on the ground that the King was supreme head of the Church, Cromwell was the King's vicegerent, and he was Cromwell's deputy. Two years previously he had been joined with Edmund Walsyngham to examine Anne Husee on the charge of addressing Henry's daughter Mary as Princess. Anne had stayed with her at Hunsdon, and was now examined as to why she called her Princess, and whether she thought her the lawful daughter of the King; and Anne Husee, knowing her head to be in danger if she continued to support Mary, took the more prudent way and besought pardon. 'She most humbly beseecheth his Highness of mercy and for-

givenness, as one that is repentant for that she hath so offended and purposeth never hereafter to fall into semblable danger,—signed Anne Husee, countersigned Edmund Walsyngham. *Per me Gulielmum Petre.*’ Soon he was actively visiting and aiding in the suppression of the smaller monasteries, amongst them being, perhaps, St. Leonards, and our neighbours Thoby and Blackmore, and a few years later he was Visitor of the greater monasteries in Kent and the South of England, again securing the surrender of many, and being instrumental in the extirpation of the Gilbertines, the only religious order of English origin. In 1543 he was knighted and placed on various commissions to inquire into causes of supposed heresy. And not only was he trusted with important affairs at home: 1545 found him abroad on an embassy to the great Emperor Charles V.

But though so much occupied with public business, this astute politician found time and ample opportunity to get and lay by great gain for himself. As one of the Visitors of the monasteries, he knew better than many people what properties were worth acquiring, and by the end of Henry VIII’s reign he was in possession of 36,000 acres of abbey lands in Devonshire, in addition to his great estates at Ingatestone, Writtle, and other parts of Essex. It is true he paid the King some £849 for the property he acquired here, but it was worth infinitely more.

Ingatestone must have been selected as being a particularly fertile and well-cultivated district at that period, within an easy ride of London, and with the comfortable house of the Abbess’s steward, with its fish-ponds and park, easily turned into an excellent country residence for the busy statesman. Here, at Ingatestone Hall, Sir William Petre established himself and his family, and many of his letters are dated from this place.

By this time he had not only ingratiated himself into the favour of Cranmer and Cromwell, but also into that of the King himself, and on the latter’s death in 1547 William Petre was left one of Henry’s executors. This gave him much hold over the Protestant and youthful sovereign, Edward VI, and his power rapidly increased. Though at first a supporter of the Protector Somerset, he deserted him just before his fall

in October, 1549. In 1550 Sir William was in France, negotiating peace proposals. September, 1551, found him laid up at Ingatestone Hall, and unable to travel to Court, but he still had many affairs on hand, amongst them a very trivial complaint from the Countess of Southampton, which Sir William forwarded to William Cecil, recommending that her suit be allowed and attended to. 'Jane, Countess of Southampton, complains that Hierom Colas, French teacher to her children, has left her service, and begs he may be compelled to return.' A more important and dangerous task that year was announcing to the Princess Mary the Privy Council's decision forbidding Mass to be said in her house.

As the young King's health failed, it was necessary to determine what should be done on his death, and a memorial was drawn up by Sir William Petre, in May, 1553, under the direction of the King and the Privy Council, limiting the succession to Protestants. Two months later Edward VI was dead, and Mary had a powerful party behind her, backing her claim to the throne; the memorial in Sir William's handwriting was laid on the shelf, he joined the Princess's party, and his wife Anne attended Mary on her entrance into London.

The move was a wise one for a man so heavily weighted with Church property, and his adroitness quickly enabled him to be as indispensable to Mary as he had been to her father and brother. He warmly advocated the Spanish marriage with Philip, and was soon freely consulted by Bishop Gardiner on matters of State policy; he took an active part in discovering the persons implicated in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising, which took place early in 1554 with the object of preventing Mary's marriage and of putting Elizabeth on the throne. After the capture of Wyatt, Sir John Bourne writes from the Tower to tell Secretary Petre that he has been labouring to make Sir Thomas Wyatt confess that the Lady Elizabeth and her servant Sir William St. Loo, were implicated in the matter; but Sir Thomas Wyatt confessed nothing, and Elizabeth, though imprisoned for a time, was spared. In July, 1554, Philip landed in England and married Mary. The following year Petre was in attendance at Court and wrote

thence to the Earl of Devonshire, in July, that the Queen's hour was daily expected—that hour which, happily for the country, never arrived to the unhappy Queen.

Religion ever sat easy with William Petre; as he had acquiesced in the Reformation under Henry VIII, so now he acquiesced in the re-establishment of the Pope's authority and the restoration of the Roman form of service, and was one of the foremost at Cardinal Pole's reception when he came on a mission from the Pope. With his vast Church property, it behoved Sir William to stand well with the new religious authorities; Cardinal Pole had come with instructions not to be too particular about the restoration of abbey lands, and with great astuteness Sir William arranged that he should be allowed to keep his estates, on consideration that he founded an almshouse and a certain number of pensions for the needy inhabitants of Ingatestone, who had been deprived of their accustomed doles from the monasteries by the wholesale dissolution and destruction that had taken place, so largely by the aid of William Petre himself. So the scheme drawn up by him was approved by Mary, and the Pope (Paul IV) issued a bull confirming him in all Church property that he had acquired. This bull still remains one of the treasured possessions of the Petre family at Thorndon Hall. It is believed to be the only one of its kind in existence, at all events in England; it is a lengthy document, and enumerates all the Church lands Sir William Petre had acquired, and the prices he had paid for them. Morant thus describes his property :

‘The maner of Ging-Abbess, or Ingarstone, and the advowson of the church; the maner or farm of Hanley-Barnes; the maner or lordship of Crondon, alias Crowdon, with the park; the maners or lordships of Cowbridge and Wefelandz, with lands and tenements in Mountneyes-ing, late belonging to Stratford-abbey; the maner of Est-Horndon, with land called Dame Elyns, and the maner of Matching, both once belonging to Waltham-abbey; the maner of Blunt-wall and the rectory of Ging-Mounteney, belonging to Thoby-priory; a farm and tenements in Writtle, called Salmons and Borobbes, once belonging to St. John's-abbey in Colchester; the maners of Tuddenhin and Sutton, belonging to Westminster-abbey; and the maners of South Brent and Churchestow in Devonshire, late parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Buckfast.’

Queen Mary's reign was even shorter than that of her brother, and on her death the hated Spaniards and Romanists were driven out of the country, and Elizabeth, the Protestant princess, ascended the throne. Once again, to save his place, Sir William had to change his religion, as did so many others; but he was getting an old man—he had all the property he could desire, his health was failing, and politics no longer attracted him as they had done in his younger days. In March, 1559, he writes to William Cecil that he will attend him at the Court if necessary, but wishes to be excused on account of the disease in his leg.

In 1556 he had written to Nicholas Wootton, Dean of Canterbury, desiring Wootton to succeed him as Secretary of State, being himself so out of health:

‘I am now so broken through age since my coming hither that you shall not know me when you see me, therefore it is time for me to get me into a corner and take to my beads, and to remember that we have not here “*permanentem civitatem*”, and therefore to begin to put on my boots and prepare myself to go to the other place where we look for rest.

But he still had many years of official life before him. He resided much at Ingatestone Hall in those later days, and we find him writing from there in 1561 about the Portuguese restrictions on English merchants in the Indies. In 1564 Lady Katherine Grey was committed to his charge. A younger sister of the ill-fated Lady Jane, she had married the Earl of Hertford without Queen Elizabeth's consent. The maiden Queen was greatly displeased—not so much by the marriage having taken place without her consent, as by her fears that there should be children by the marriage, and ‘the brats’, she feared, might imperil her throne. Therefore she caused Lady Katherine to be sent to the Tower in 1563; later, she was removed to the care of her uncle, Sir John Grey, at Pyrgo, where she stayed until November 1564, when she was committed to the charge of Sir William Petre. For two years she was in his custody, and probably resided at Ingatestone Hall; then she was removed to Sir John Wentworth's,¹ at Gosfield

¹ Kinsman of Sir W. Petre's first wife.

Hall, and after seventeen months' confinement there was taken down to Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, where she died fourteen days later. Is it her sad ghost that is said to flit up and down the lime-tree avenue of Ingatestone Hall?

The care of this poor lady seems to have been the last public charge undertaken by William Petre: from 1566 he practically retired from the busy, active life he had led so many years. For another five years he lived here, and, after a long illness, passed away on the 13th of January, 1571/2. Twice he had been married—first to Gertrude, daughter of Sir John Tyrell, of Warley, one of the old Essex family of Tyrell, whose seat was at Heron, East Horndon. She died in 1541 and is buried in the sanctuary of Ingatestone Church, near her husband's tomb. She had two daughters—the eldest, Dorothy, so well known to us in Fryerning as having married Nicholas Wadham, and founded with him the College of Wadham in Oxford, giving the presentation of our living to her new foundation, together with so much other local property. Sir William's second daughter, Elizabeth, married John Gostwicke, of Willington. A son, John, was born, but died in infancy. Sir William's second wife, Anne, was widow of his first wife's kinsman, Thomas Tyrell; she was daughter of Sir William Browne, Lord Mayor of London, 1513, one of the very few Lord Mayors who have died in office. By her he had one son, John, and three daughters born at Ingatestone. One of the daughters, Thomasine, married Ludovic Grevill, who met with a tragic fate. Being charged with murder in 1589 he 'stood mute', in order to save his estates from confiscation, and underwent at Warwick the unusual and most cruel penalty of being pressed to death, under heavy weights.

William Petre is described as smooth and obliging in manner, yet reserved and resolved, and not given to many words. 'Ah,' said Chatillon of Petre at Boulogne in 1550, 'we had gained the last two hundred thousand crowns without hostages, had it not been for that man who said nothing.' Though so occupied in politics, he seems to have been a man with wider interests. Camden describes him as a man of approved wisdom and exquisite learning; and he writes in terms of friendship to

William Cecil in 1551, from Ingatestone, regretting to hear that Cecil is ill, thanking him for a book he had sent, and saying his little ones when they are able shall send him some proof of their progress ; and writes again later to congratulate Cecil on his recovery.

That he retained a warm affection for the College which had given him his early education is evident from the liberal gift he made to Exeter College. In 1566 he founded seven Scholarships or Fellowships, called the Petrean Fellowships, and the next year founded another to be nominated by him or his heirs from the counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Oxford, Essex, and other counties within the Kingdom of England, where he had lands and inheritance. For the maintenance of these he gave possessions to the yearly value of £91 annually, and in his will gave a further sum of £40 for the same purpose, to which Lady Petre his widow, and his son and heir John, each added another £40. He was a great collector of books, and presented many to Exeter College Library. He also obtained for the College new and beneficial Statutes from the Bishop of Exeter, and a Charter from the Queen that the College might be a body politic and corporate. On his portrait, which hangs in Exeter College Hall, is this inscription :

Octo socios cum terris addidit . A.D. 1566 . et multos Libros Bibliothecae contulit.

It may also here be noted that he was one of the first Governors of King Edward VI Grammar School, Chelmsford ; and may we not think that his liberality to Exeter suggested to his daughter Dorothy and her husband, Nicholas Wadham, the founding of the new College of Wadham at Oxford ?

We can, perhaps, hardly go as far as Strype, who says, ' he was without spot that I could find, except change of religion ' —a verdict which William Petre himself would hardly have endorsed, for in one of his letters to his friend William Cecil he says : ' We which talk much of Christ and his holy word, have, I fear me, used a much contrary way ; for we leave fishing for men, and fish again in the tempestuous seas of this world, for gain and wicked mammon.'

In 1566 he writes again to Cecil that he is too ill to go

abroad, though recovered of his fever, and wishes to retire 'to my poore house at Ingatestone', where he thinks the open air will do him good. So he ended his days peacefully amongst the pleasant grounds of Ingatestone Hall, with leanings again towards Papacy, but too prudent to be involved in the many plots that were so constantly being laid against Elizabeth. He was buried in the chancel of Ingatestone Church, and in the register is the entry :

1571. 17th die Februarij sepultus fuit dñs Willmus Petreus Eques auratus.

William Petre owed his success in life to his own ability, industry, and perseverance. The eighteenth-century historians Morant and Richard Baker speak slightly of him as not being descended from any ancient county family, Baker especially saying of him and Lord Chancellor Rich, 'Henry VIII had raised these men from the lowest gentry'. But it seems to me to redound to the credit of the King and the East and West country men, that able men of the people should have obtained some of the good things of the land, that had been too long monopolized by the Church and a few great families; though one could wish that when the division of the monastery lands was made, they had been yet more widely divided. It was better for his family to owe their property and peerage to Sir William's ability and labour than to a bend sinister.

There exist three portraits of Sir William Petre: one, as already mentioned, hangs in Exeter College Hall, and two are at Thorndon Hall. One of these at Thorndon is by Antonio More, the other by Holbein, though the ascription is not quite certain. This latter is reputed by the family to be the better portrait, and by kind permission of Lord Petre, and through the courtesy of Lady Petre, I am able to reproduce this most interesting portrait of that very able statesman.¹

¹ The above sketch is largely based on the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, supplemented with many extracts from the *Calendar of State Papers*, and a few items from Mr. F. Chancellor's *Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*.

INGATESTONE HALL

CHAPTER XVI

THE PETRE FAMILY

SIR WILLIAM looms large in our parish history, and is deserving, perhaps, of more space than we are able to spare him. His descendants still own the property, and have often lived in our parish, but we have only room to sketch quite briefly the subsequent history of his family. His widow, Anne, who survived him many years, was a keen Papist ; she lived on at Ingatestone Hall, and there received and sheltered many of the seminary priests, whose presence was forbidden in England by Elizabeth's law at that time. Coming from Douay they were sometimes only Roman missionaries, but very often plotters against the Protestant Queen. Amongst them was John Payne, who lived for some time at Ingatestone Hall under the protection of old Lady Petre. In 1577 he was arrested at Ingatestone, and thrown into prison for three weeks, and then released. He returned to France by the end of the year, but it was not long before he was back in England, and residing at Ingatestone Hall, where he passed as Lady Petre's steward. In 1581 information was laid against him, and he was arrested at Warwick and tried, not only for saying Mass, which was then a punishable offence, but also for plotting against Elizabeth. After long investigation, trial, and torture, he was executed in 1582 at Chelmsford.¹

¹ There is an interesting account of the matter in the *Essex Review* for January 1910, p. 21, but I cannot agree that 'the absurdity of this story is patent'. Such events were of constant occurrence abroad, and only two years later William of Orange was assassinated at Delft, 1584, after five previous unsuccessful attempts ; his murderer had previously consulted the head of the Jesuit College at Trèves, also the celebrated Franciscan, Father Grey, and the Prince of Parma, and had been encouraged by all of them to commit the dastardly act, so it was little wonder Elizabeth distrusted the missionary priests coming from that neighbourhood, and gave them short shrift if she found the slightest evidence against them—and only ten years had elapsed since the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, when 10,000 Huguenots were murdered, in honour of which Pope Gregory XIII had a medal struck.

John Payne was nephew of Rector Woodward, of Ingatestone, who had resigned rather than conform.

Lady Petre herself was on the list of recusants whose addresses were to be sent up in 1582. The trial and execution of her confessor and pseudo-steward seems to have been a severe blow to the old lady, for she died in April of the same year. Dame Petre was buried with her husband in the vault in the chancel, and her effigy lies by his on the tomb above.

John Petre was not endowed with the ability of his father, but his great possessions and his father's fame served him well; he was M.P. for Essex (by the direction, apparently, of the Privy Council), and Deputy Lieutenant, and was knighted by Elizabeth after his father's death. There were no baronetcies at that time, these being created by the next sovereign as a means of raising money. The domestic papers of Queen Elizabeth's time not infrequently notice Sir John. In 1589 his father's friend, William Cecil, now Lord Burghley, writes to the Deputy Lieutenants of Essex that he has appointed three gentlemen to be captains of the '600 foot formerly entrusted to Sir J. Petre'. The year 1590 found these foot-soldiers trained and in readiness, but the Deputy Lieutenants report to Lord Burghley that the horse are not ready; they have provided sufficient powder, and assure him that the observances of Lent have in all things been confirmed. This was just after the Spanish Armada, and the county still lived in fear of invasion: the same year found John Petre joined with Sir Thomas Mildmay investigating the grievance of the mariners, gunners, fishermen, and other sea-faring men within the county, who complained they were kept from their ordinary occupation by being constrained to attend at three hours' warning for Navy service.

On the accession of James I, the Scotchman found himself short of money, and his predecessors having disposed of all the Abbey and Church lands, he ingeniously started selling peerages, and as Sir John Petre obtained his barony of Writtle in James's first year, it is not unlikely that he paid for

it, like many others, in the coin of which the King had such need.¹ John Petre's vast properties and position in the county would justify the monarch in elevating him to the peerage.

We know little more about him. Like his descendants, he was a Roman Catholic, but he must have kept his religious opinions in the background, or James would hardly have made him a peer. He married Mary Waldegrave, by whom he had several children, and died in October, 1613. He probably erected the beautiful recumbent tomb of Sir William, and is himself commemorated by the magnificent one in the north chapel (now vestry).

William, the second Baron (b. 1575, s. 1613), was undoubtedly a supporter of the Romish party, and from that time the family have been, in the main, adherents of Rome.

From its position on the Harwich road, and proximity to London, Ingatestone Hall was a constant rendezvous and refuge for those disaffected to the Protestant religion or to the reigning sovereign, and the hiding-place discovered at the Hall in 1855 must often have been used by secret guests. It is very probable that some of the inns had similar places of concealment for these visitors, whom it would not always be safe to hide at the Hall, e.g., the attic in the White Hart, the huge chimney-block of the Eagle, behind the present billiard room, the present great cupboards of the Crown; and many of the houses about—Fryerning Hall by the old chimney-stacks, and I think Furze Hall—might reveal similar ones if thoroughly explored. In any case, we read:

'July 13, 1627. My Lord Petre's son going over sea to Flanders with many letters, and two barrels of treasure, gold and silver, in a pink, is brought back and committed, and here it is said, that at his father's house at Ingatestone in Essex divers great papists had been in consultation about a fortnight and departed thence but on Saturday last.'²

It does not appear that the second Baron got into any

¹ Eight years later James created baronetcies, and sold them instead of the peerages.

² *Court Life of Charles I.*

trouble about the Papists who frequented Ingatestone; possibly by this time the Hall was used as a dower-house, or a residence for the sons, as the third Baron is described in 1638 by William Riley, Blue Mantle, as dying at West Thorndon, and being buried in an old vault appropriated to his family in the chancel of the Parish Church of Ingatestone. William, the second Baron, died in May, 1637, and is buried in the same vault. The tomb which he erected in the north chapel in memory of his parents, bears also his own effigy and that of his wife and children, but the tablet over his head is still waiting for an inscription.

Robert, the third Baron, enjoyed his honours but a short time, and followed his father to the grave in little more than a year (October, 1638). In 1620 he had married Mary, daughter of Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu—a woman destined to have a long and troubled widowhood. Many are the notices in the State Papers about the Petre property in her days. When Charles and his Parliament came to blows, William, the young Lord Petre, joined his sovereign, and is reported as fighting for him in Warwickshire. The estates were seized by the Commonwealth, who put different stewards in charge to see that the rents were rightly divided, one-third going to Petre and two-thirds to the Parliament. The estate was leased at the time to Chaloner Chute for £1,300, and there were many difficulties in apportioning the obligatory payments. The Buttsbury minister was entitled to have an additional £40, of which it was finally decided that Chute should pay two-thirds and Lord Petre one-third. Rector Willis also was to receive £20 in lieu of tithe on Ingatestone Park. But Lord Petre managed to get a larger share than his one-third, and in 1647 the local Court reports that he holds courts at Ingatestone privately and makes many thousand pounds. In 1644 Sir Henry Vane, jun., had moved in the House of Commons the passing of an ordinance for raising £3,000 out of Lord Petre's estate for the recruiting of Colonel Harvey's regiment of horse. Apparently the money was not raised at once, for in 1650 Lord Petre had

Peter Whetcombe and others summoned for cutting and carrying away timber from his estate ; to which they pleaded in defence Parliament's order for raising £3,000 by sale of his wood. Whetcombe further pleaded that he had only cut and sold decayed timber and undergrowth.

Peter Whetcombe does not appear to have given complete satisfaction as steward, for about 1650 Arthur Barnardiston was appointed, and shortly after Mr. Richard Greaves, of Lincoln's Inn, held the office, and was directed to keep court on Lord Petre's estate.

In 1655 Lord Petre reports himself ill and lame,¹ and begs that he may be examined about his affairs at his own lodgings, which was granted. In 1658 he was in custody, and seeking passes for himself and his servant to France, or beyond the seas ; and in 1659 President Whitelock wrote to Colonel Fagge and other Militia Commissioners of the county of Sussex : ' Concerning Lord Petre, Council have received such satisfaction from various well-tried friends that you may liberate him if he will pass his honour to Colonel Fagge to live peaceably, and not abet any thing to the prejudice of Parliament.'

Meanwhile his mother, Mary, Lady Petre, was living at Mill Green House, and was looked after as sharply as her son. The occupier of Folly's Hall² made complaint that she did not pay a fair rent, and offered to pay more. On page 176 has been set out the correspondence that ensued between the authorities in town, desirous of extracting as much as possible from the estate, and the local Commissioners, who perhaps had a more neighbourly feeling of compassion for the widow.

As Rector Willis was at the time serving as Assistant Commissioner on some of these local courts, we may hope he had used his influence in her favour.

¹ The State Papers say 'aged and lame': this must be a misreading, as he was then only thirty-three.

² Forest Hall, Ongar, seven miles away.

Lord Petre and his mother must have greatly rejoiced at the Restoration, and the resumption of their property. The timber is still wanted, however, for Mr. Secretary Pepys knows that Essex oaks make first-rate ships, and in the Domestic State Papers of July, 1665, we find the following complaint, and excuse :

'The Duke of Albemarle to the Navy Commissioners. Captain Taylor has abused the warrant granted to him for the carriage of Lord Petre's timber ; he ought to have carried his own, and when Com^r. Pett uses the carts they clash with one another. If such orders be granted the County will complain of it.

Aug. 19, 1665. Certificate of John Springfield, high constable, and three others that a report stating that bribes were received by the men employed by Capt. Taylor about Engerstone in converting and carrying timber from the grounds belonging to Lord Petre, to acquit the town of Burntwood of the carriage thereof, is false and abominable ; and that a poor fellow, calling himself Robin the Devil, made the above false charges and is willing to ask forgiveness on his knees.'

The fourth Baron was destined not to end his days peacefully in one of his Essex homes, but as a prisoner in the Tower, being one of the many unfortunates accused in 1678 by Titus Oates, who charged him with being privy to the alleged Popish Plot, and swore that he had seen Lord Petre receive a commission as Lieutenant-General of the Popish army for the invasion of England. The country was in a ferment at once, and the wildest excitement prevailed. To a certain substratum of truth Titus Oates added many lies, making it exceedingly difficult to separate the guilty from the innocent, and many persons were unjustly condemned and punished.

Lord Petre was fortunate in so far that he did not lose his head, but he protested his innocence in vain ; it was remembered against him that undoubtedly foreign Papists had frequented Ingatestone Hall, and it was useless to expect a Stuart to remember and feel any gratitude for the fact that Lord Petre had suffered and fought on the Royalist side so few years ago. Even the discovery in 1683 of the Rye House Plot (called in the register by Rector Ewer 'the Phanatic Plot'), to assassinate Charles and James and set the Duke of Monmouth on the throne, failed to create a revulsion of

feeling in Lord Petre's favour, and he was doomed to remain in confinement. For a short time he had as fellow-prisoner Mr. Samuel Pepys, who had been accused of being a Papist, and of selling Navy information to the French. John Evelyn writes in his *Diary*:

'June 4th, 1679. I din'd with Mr Pepys in the Tower, he having been committed by y^e House of Commons for misdemeanours in the Admiralty when he was Secretary: I believe he was unjustly charged. Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish Plot.'

Though he appears to have been leniently treated, the old man longed to see his home once more, and in the autumn of 1683 wrote a pathetic letter to Charles:

'I have been five years in prison, and what is more grievous to me lain so long under a false, injurious calumny of a horrid plot and design against your Majestie's person and government, and am now by the disposition of God's Providence call'd into another world before I could by a public trial make my innocence appear.'

His appeal was unavailing; his earthly eyes were never again to see our pleasant village and green fields; a few months later he died in the Tower, January 5th, 1683/4. And when it was too late, public compassion was aroused for him; his body was brought down here for burial, and laid in the old family vault, his coffin resting on that of his distinguished ancestor, Sir William Petre. I cannot find that any monument or slab was placed in the church to his memory, probably because he left no son, but only one daughter.

We are indebted to Samuel Pepys for a lively, if not very engaging, picture of Lord Petre's first wife, Elizabeth Savage, daughter of Earl Rivers, which I give in Mr. Pepys's own words:¹

'1664, April 3rd (Lord's day). Being weary last night lay long, and called up by W. Joyce. So I rose; his business was to ask advice of me, he being summoned to the House of Lords to-morrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters for a debt. I did give him advice and will assist him.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's: and there spoke

¹ *Diary*, vol. iv.

with him about W. Joyce, who told me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. I can yet discern a coldness in him to admit me to any discourse with him. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melancholy taking. Afterwards I spoke with my Lord Berkeley and my Lord Peterborough about it. And so staid without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And at last W. Joyce was called in ; and by the consequences and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod ; which is very hard—he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peters' own steward.'

W. Joyce was taken into custody and conducted to the Swan with Two Necks in Tuttle Street, and the next day let out on bail until after Easter.

'It was a sad sight methought to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House fall out with his lady (from whom he is parted) about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high-spirited.

18th April. Up and by coach to Westminster and there solicited W. Joyce's business again, and did speake to the D. of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her ; but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do anything to release him, but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem.

21st April. Mr. Creed . . . he and I and my wife by coach to Westminster (leaving her at Unthanke's her tailors) Hall, and there at the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that upon submission upon the knee both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and aske pardon upon his knees ; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it, but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitiful Lords the King hath ; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk ; and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory, and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her, so I went away calling with my wife at a place or two, to inquire after a couple of maids recommended to us, but we found both of them bad.'

It must have been rather a relief to her husband when his fiery wife died the next year. She was buried in Lord Petre's family vault in our church, and her name is entered in the register.

His aged mother survived him just a year, and was buried on the 17th of January, 1684/5, on the north side of the then new south chancel, and not in the vault with her husband and son.¹

Other members of the family fought for Charles I and met with misfortune in consequence. The tombstone of one of them was discovered by members of an Antiquarian Society, on an excursion, in May, 1904; it was under a pile of brush-wood in the stack-yard of the Abbey Farm, Holywell. It had originally stood in the Abbey of Basingwerk, and noted the death of a son of the second Lord Petre, who had died abroad in 1647 and been brought to the Abbey for burial.²

The member of the family most widely known is Father Edward Petre (often Peters), confessor to James II. He was great-grandson of the first Baron, being descended from his third son Thomas, who lived at Cranham. Born in 1631, Edward Petre was educated abroad and joined the Society of Jesus, taking the vows in 1671. He was a man of considerable address and boldness, though perhaps of no great learning. He was frequently in England in the interests of his Society, and was arrested in 1679, but, unlike his cousin Lord Petre, Titus Oates made no charge against him, and he was shortly after released, though he was one of the many Papists who frequented Ingatestone Hall. On the accession of James II he immediately rose into great favour, being made confessor to the King, and later a Privy Councillor. James seems to have leaned greatly upon him, and was exceedingly anxious to make him Archbishop of York; but this the Pope, having no love for the Jesuits, refused to allow.

Father Petre was accused of being privy to the plot to pass off as the Queen's son a child, which was said by the populace

¹ A portrait of the fourth Baron hangs in Thorndon Hall, but unfortunately in such an impossible photographic light that it was impracticable for Mr. Macbeth to take it. No pictures of the fourth Baron's handsome wife or of his mother are known to exist.

² From a newspaper-cutting in *Liverpool Courier* (or *Post?*), May 31, 1904, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

to have been brought into the palace in a warming-pan! Whatever the truth of that curious story may be, it is certain that Father Petre was immensely unpopular with the crowd, and his effigy was carried by the London mob on the 5th of November, and Queen Elizabeth's birthday, and burnt with that of Guy Fawkes, until after the death of Queen Anne. On the flight of James, Father Petre escaped to France, and thence for a time to Rome, where his reception was cold. Afterwards he was Rector of the College of St. Omer, where the attention he paid to the health and cleanliness of the community were much appreciated.¹

It has long been the fashion to decry Father Petre as James's most evil counsellor, but J. Pollock takes a more kindly view, and is inclined to believe that he used his influence on, behalf of moderation, at all events during James's later time.²

The unfortunate William, fourth Baron, was succeeded by his brother John, who died unmarried a year later, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, who enjoyed the honours for twenty-one years, and with the Romanist James II upon the throne all went well with him for a time. Father Edward Petre, his second cousin, was in high favour at Court, and the families who had so long been in the shade now basked openly in the sunshine of Court favour, and during the year 1688-9 the sixth Baron was Lord Lieutenant of the County and Custos Rotulorum. But this pleasant change quickly passed. James, having more zeal than discretion, forced the pace too much, and finally fled to France, leaving the crown to his daughter Mary and his nephew William of Orange, when James's supporters found themselves in little favour at the Court.

In the printed transcript of State Papers, Domestic, William and Mary, ii. 56, is the following letter :

'30th Nov. 1689. Sheridan to . . ., from Paris. I presume from the printed votes that the lords in the Tower may be visited by their

¹ The above is largely based on the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v, p. 255.

friends. I pray therefore that you would present my humble service to Lord Petre and tell him I am much grieved he could not get his liberty upon bail. His friends here have an account, that none of his fellow prisoners behaved themselves so bravely as he, less could not be expected from his courage and his wit.'

Failing to find any other record of Thomas, sixth Baron, being at that time in the Tower, I examined the manuscript and found it read 'L^d. Pet:' which I believe should be transcribed Peterborough, for the Earl of Peterborough was undoubtedly a prisoner in the Tower at that time. Mr. Sebastian Petre has kindly replied to my inquiries that he cannot find any foundation for the statement, and agrees with me that the transcriber is probably in error. A great many people were arrested about that time for plots and supposed plots, but it is difficult to find their names.

Thomas, the sixth Baron, married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Clifton, of Lytham; and on his death in January, 1705/6, he was succeeded by his only son Robert (b. 1689). This seventh Lord Petre was the hero of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. Very small for his age, yet a gay young spark, he cut a lock of hair from the head of the beautiful Arabella Fermour, his cousin; but he did not, after all, marry her; possibly she would have none of him, though Pope wrote his long poem to abate the feud that had arisen in consequence of the foolish act. He married instead a great Lancashire heiress, Catherine Walmesley,¹ dying of small-pox the next year, March, 1713.

Robert James, the eighth Baron, son of the preceding, was born the June following his father's death, and may claim our attention as having had the bells of Ingrave Church cast at Ingatestone (see *Bells*, Chap. V). He married Mary Radcliffe, daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who, after his execution in 1715, was brought to Ingatestone and buried in the Petre vault. There is no entry about the funeral in the register; Rector Ewer was then an old man, and there are

¹ Walmesleys are buried in the church at a later date.

only four burials entered for that year. Perhaps the burial was secret. The sympathies of the Petre family may well have been with the old and young Pretenders, whose success would have meant the supremacy once more of the Roman hierarchy ; but it does not appear that they took any active part in the risings. Lord Petre died in 1742, and his widow then resided at Ingatestone Hall, where she died in 1760. I am told she is the last Dowager Lady Petre who has lived in the old family mansion.

Robert Edward the ninth Baron and his wife evidently held themselves aloof from politics and the Court, for at the time of the War of American Independence, when France was threatening to aid the Americans by invading Ireland, Horace Walpole noted that the Roman Catholics professed much loyalty, both in Ireland and England, and Lord and Lady Petre went to Court for the first time. Horace Walpole specially remarks on the visit of George III and Queen Charlotte to Lord Petre at Thorndon, after a review of the troops on Warley Common : this was on the 19th of October, 1779.

This same Lord Petre was a loyal and patriotic man, for at the end of the century, when we were at war with France, he raised a company of volunteers from the districts of Ingatestone, Brentwood, and Billericay ; the banners of these volunteers were still hanging in Ingatestone Church in 1848.¹ His wife was Anne, daughter of Philip Howard, Esq., and niece of Edward, ninth Duke of Norfolk ; on whose decease without issue Anne became co-heir with her sister Winifred to various baronies, one of which, after being dormant many years, has now been called out of abeyance in favour of Mary Frances Katherine, daughter of the fourteenth Baron, who becomes Baroness Furnival.

The later Barons do not concern us, as they have not resided here, though until the last thirty years they continued to attend at the annual audit and court-day, and preside at the dinner. It is, however, of interest to note that William Joseph, thirteenth Baron, was in holy orders, and Domestic Prelate to

¹ Thanks to Mr. Tyler for W. White's *Gazetteer of Essex*, 1848.

the Court of the Vatican. He was the author of several pamphlets on the problem of Catholic Liberal Education, in which he appears to have taken a great interest.¹

King, in his *Eccl. Essex*, mentions that on his visit to Ingatestone he found the large vault open; he describes it as very spacious. 'The coffins are very sumptuous, those of the Peers covered with crimson velvet upon each of which a gilt coronet was set. One was of enormous size, designated as that of the Great Lord Petre, though it probably enclosed two other coffins.' One or more were covered with blue velvet.

For many generations the family were buried in the vault in Ingatestone Church chancel, even the unbaptized infant of an hour old who died in London; but on the completion of the mortuary chapel at Thorndon, about 1860, a number of the coffins were removed there. The present Rector's father, Dr. Earle, of Brentwood, was at that time doctor to the family, and was requested to be present at the removal. He recounted how the coffin of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater was opened, and the head clearly seen to have been severed from the body, but in a few minutes the whole body faded away into dust.

However much apart from Court the Petres may have kept themselves, they seem to have been popular in the vicinity, and kind and liberal neighbours, for they are not unfrequently referred to by travellers, and Defoe thus writes of them in his *Tour through England*, 1722:

'From hence [Lees Priory], keeping the London Road, I came to Chelmsford, mentioned before, and Ingerstone, five miles west, which I mention again because in the parish Church of this town are to be seen the ancient monuments of the noble family of Petre whose seat and large estate lie in the neighbourhood, and whose family, by a constant series of beneficent actions to the poor, and bounty upon all charitable occasions, have gained an affectionate esteem through all that part of the County, such as no prejudice of religion could wear out, or perhaps ever may—and I must confess need not, for good and great actions commend our respect, let the opinions of the persons be otherwise what they may.'

The friendliness was carried on long after Defoe's visit.

¹ *Essex Review*, ii. 144, 267; iii. 141.

Miss Parkin still retains a lively memory of the kindness of William, twelfth Baron, and has a photograph, taken by him in the Rectory garden, of Rector Parkin and his family. It is a matter for regret that of late years the great landowner has been so much less in touch with the parish.

Various members of the family have lived in the neighbourhood from time to time, in various houses, some of whom are still amongst us, and the names of many may be found in the old register. The inscriptions on the monuments of the early members will be found in the next chapter.

In the new Cemetery lies Mr. Edward Petre, whose tragic death on Christmas Eve, 1912, filled the neighbourhood with sorrow. Second son of Mr. Sebastian Petre, he had trained as an architect, but gave up his profession to devote himself to the new and enthralling pursuit of flying. A daring yet careful pilot, he was recently engaged as an instructor at Brooklands, and had been testing new machines for the War Office. On Christmas Eve he was attempting a non-stop flight from Brooklands to Edinburgh, and left at 9.10 a.m. in a SSE. wind of fifteen miles per hour. The moderate breeze in which he started became a strong gale of sixty miles an hour in Yorkshire. In attempting to land, he passed over a field in which were some children; at the peril of his own life he removed one hand from the control-wheel to signal to the children the danger they were in, and in a fresh attempt to land in the next field was caught by a furious gust, which, lifting one wing, dashed the machine and its intrepid pilot to the ground, death being instantaneous. He was greatly liked by all he came in contact with, and was beloved by his family and priest. *R. I. P.*

SIR W. PETRE, INGATESTONE CHURCH

CHAPTER XVII

THE PETRE MONUMENTS

THE particulars of the monuments are taken from Mr. F. Chancellor's great work on the *Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*; the inscriptions and translations from Muilman's and Wright's histories. The inscriptions are very much effaced, and in places impossible to read.

Under the arch, between the chancel and south chancel, is the monument of Sir William Petre. The monument consists of an altar-tomb of alabaster and marble, upon which lie the effigies of Sir William Petre and Ann, his second wife. The altar-tomb is divided on the north and south sides into three compartments by columns, with similar compartments at the east and west ends. Each compartment consists of an arch with pilasters, the head of the arch being decorated with a shell-like ornament, with a shield in the lower part; over these compartments, in narrow panels, is the inscription in Latin.

Upon the altar-tomb lie the effigies, Lady Petre being on the left of Sir William. He is arrayed in plate-armour very elaborately worked; his head and hands are bare, the latter in an attitude of prayer. She is dressed in a long loose robe, open in front, displaying a richly embroidered petticoat; upon her shoulders she has a short fur boa; her hair is dressed back, and she wears a cap; her hands also are in an attitude of prayer.

Over the monument, suspended from the arch in an iron grille, is the atchievement:

Arms. Gules, on a bend or, between two escallops argent, a Cornish chough proper, enclosed by as many cinquefoils azure; on a chief of the second a rose, between two demi-fleurs-de-lis of the first. *Petre* (an early coat).

Here lies interred William Lord Petre, Knight, with Dame Anna his second wife, Daughter of William Browne, who died Lord Mayor of London. The aforesaid nobleman William Lord Petre was by summons from Henry King of England, the eighth of that name, called to the office of Secretary and to be one of his Majesty's Privy Council.

Here lies interred William Lord Petre, Knight, with Dame Anna his second wife, Daughter of William Browne, who died Lord Mayor of London.

The monument in the north chapel to John, first Lord Petre, and Mary his wife, and to William, second Lord Petre, and Catherine his wife, is an imposing structure executed in marble

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This is a very carefully designed and well-executed monument the carving being equal to, if not exceeding, any the monument of the period in the district. It bears this inscription:

Hic jacet Dominus Gulielmus Petrus eques comes in
Anglia filius uxoris uxoris uxoris, Filius Gulielmi Browne
Magistri / Petri Londinensis. Prædictus Honorabilis vir Dominus
Gulielmus / Petrus a Henrico Rege Angliæ, et
Henrico Octavo, ad Officium Secretarii, et etiam ut esset a privy
Council. Quo / In statu sub Edwardo Sexto Rege Perseveravit
a quo primum et / Decimarum Thesaurarius est constitutus
Edwardo mortuo apud Regiam / Mariam eadem munia obivit
illi cum / Cancellatu quoque illustris ordinis garteri cumula-
tus Consultarius etiam fuit Domine regine Elizabethæ.

In English:

Here lies interred William Lord Petre, Knight, with Dame Anna his second wife, Daughter of William Browne, who died Lord Mayor of London. The aforesaid nobleman William Lord Petre was by summons from Henry King of England, the eighth of that name, called to the office of Secretary and to be one of his Majesty's Privy Council. In which state he continued under King Edward the Sixth, by whom he was made Treasurer of the Firstfruits and Tenths. After the death of Edward he held the same offices under Queen Mary, which she conferred upon him, together with the Chancellorship likewise of the most noble Order of the Garter. He was, too, one of the Council of our Lady Queen Elizabeth.

Sir William Petre's first wife, Gertrude Tyrell, died May 28, 1541, and was buried in Ingatestone, where there is a slab in the chancel with this inscription:

Hic jacet Gertrudis filia Johannis Terrel de Warley Equitis
amati & conjux prenobilis Gulielmi Petri Equitis aurati quæ obiit
28 Maii 1541.

The monument in the north chapel to John, first Lord Petre, and Mary his wife, and to William, second Lord Petre, and Catherine his wife, is an imposing structure executed in marble

A. H. H. M.

DAME ANNE PETRE, INGATESIDE CHURCH

Crest. Two lions' heads endorsed, conjoined, erased, the one or the other azure, collared, the collar and studs counterchanged.

Eight shields are arranged round the sides of the monument.

One of them impaling with the Petre arms :

Azure, a chevron between three escallops or, a bordure engrailed gules. *Browne*.

At the foot of the female figure, on a lozenge, *Browne*, as above.

At the foot of the male figure the crest of *Petre*.

This is a very carefully designed and well-executed monument, the carving being equal to, if not excelling, any other monument of the period in the district. It bears this inscription :

Hic sepelitur Dominus Gulielmus / Petræus eques auratus, cum Do-/mina Anna secunda ipsius uxore, / Filia Gulielmi Browne, qui obiit / Prætor Londoniensis. Prædictus / Honorabilis vir Dominus Gulielmus / Petræus Ascitus est ab Henrico Rege Angliæ, ejus / Nominis Octavo, ad Officium Secretarii, et etiam / ut esset a privatis Consiliis. Quo / In statu sub Edwardo Sexto Rege / Perseveravit, a quo primitiarum & / Decimarum Thesaurarius est consti-/tutus. Edwardo mortuo apud Reginam / Mariam eadam munia obivit quæ illi cum / Cancellareatu quoque illustrus ordinis garterii cumula-/vit. Consiliarius etiam fuit Dominæ reginæ Elizabethæ.

In English :

Here lies interred William Lord Petre, Knight, with Dame Ann, his second wife, Daughter of William Browne, who died Lord Mayor of London. The aforesaid nobleman William Lord Petre was by summons from Henry King of England, the eighth of that name, called to the office of Secretary and to be one of his Majesty's Privy Council. In which state he continued under King Edward the Sixth, by whom he was made Treasurer of the Firstfruits and Tenths. After the death of Edward he held the same offices under Queen Mary, which she conferred upon him, together with the Chancellorship likewise of the most noble Order of the Garter. He was, too, one of the Council of our Lady Queen Elizabeth.

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E. H. N. H.

DAME ANNE PETRE, INGATESTONE CHURCH

LORD PETRE'S MONUMENT, INGATESTONE CHURCH VESTRY

and alabaster. The architectural composition is divided into three parts, supported by four Corinthian columns upon a pedestal. The centre compartment is formed into a semi-circular arch, under which, upon another raised pedestal, are the effigies of John, first Lord Petre, and Mary, his wife, kneeling at a faldstool: he is dressed in plate-armour, partly covered by a fur-lined mantle; she is dressed in a tight-fitting body, with a loose and rich plaited skirt, and she also wears a fur-lined mantle. The two side-compartments are carried solidly over the columns, divided by pilasters and forming panels for inscriptions, the whole surmounted by a cornice with pyramidal terminals over each column, with the atchievement over the centre and shields over the dexter and sinister compartments. In the side compartments are kneeling effigies of William, second Lord Petre, and Catherine his wife. Their costumes are very similar to those of the first lord and his wife. On the pedestal, under the effigy of the second lord are the effigies of his eight sons,¹ and in a similar position under the effigy of his wife are the effigies of their four daughters.

The heraldry consists of—A, the atchievement over the centre; B, the shield on the dexter side; C, the shield on the sinister side; D, the shield over the head of the second Lord Petre; E, the shield over the head of his wife.

A, the atchievement.

Arms. Gules a bend or between two escallops argent. *Petre*.

Crest as described under Sir William Petre.

B and D, same as A.

C, A. } impaling illegible.
E, A. }

Catherine, wife of the second Lord Petre, was daughter of Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester. In Camden's *Visitation of Essex*, 1612 (Harl. MSS. 887, fo. 7), the arms of this William Lord Petre are given as:

Petre impaling Comes *Worcester* viz. *France modern* and *England*, quarterly, a bordure compony, argent and azure.

[There should be a bar sinister.]

¹ The illustration does not take in the last pair, nor all the daughters.

Inscription :

Johannes Dominus Petre de Writtle, Gulielmi / Illius filius, qui quatuor Principibus, Henrico / Octavo, Edwardo Sexto, Mariæ, & Elizabethæ. / A Secretis fuit, septies itidem' legatus ad / Exteros Principes Missus, & Exoniensis Collegii / Apud Oxoniensis fundator secundus.

On another table, below, the inscription is continued as follows :

Vir quantæcunq. fortunæ capax. meliorisque particeps: ad magnas siquidem fortunas natus, nec virtutes minores, obsequens Deo, fidus principi, summa adversus egenos miserecordia, adolescentia, artibus honestis, nec nisi quæ nobili decerent, acta : Mariam, Edwardi Waldegravii equitis aurati, Mariæq. a Consiliis & Secretis Filiam, lectissimam foeminam, tantiq. Mariti Thoro tumuloq. dignissimam, uxorem duxit. Et tres ex ea filios suscepit ad huc superstites, præceptis foras, domi exemplis, ubique liberaliter, institutos. Hospitalitati indulgit adeo, ut eundem juxta patrem familias providum putes prodigumq. Raptores contra et corruptores, patriæ charitas, non dominandi libido (quæ cunctis affectibus flagrantior esse solet) pulcherrimum pectus extimulavit. Amorem plebis procerumq. amicitias habuit magis quam ambivit, familiares semper eligens optimos, non semper optimates, potentiumque iras nec meruit, nec metuit ; inerat quippe menti robur et heroica quædam constantia animi corporisq. Is habitus fuit, ut nescias meliorne an major decentior an sublimior fuerit. Utriusq. sexûs, utriusq. gentis principes, Elizabetha in equitem, Jacobus in baronem, uterque ab merita, provexerunt. Talis tantusq. vir ad omnia quæ bona essent ortus, ad meliora moriturus, lenta & languida febre, vix biennio, (quis credat) extinguitur, sine cruclatu omni & lucta, non sine omnium luctu & lachrimis.

Gulielmus Dominus Petre qui possessionibus (utinam et virtutibus) sucessit patri filius mærens merenti posuit.

In English :

John, Lord Petre, of Writtle, son of that William who was Privy Council to four sovereigns, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth ; and was likewise sent as Ambassador seven times to Princes, and co-Founder of Exeter College in Oxford.

A person capable of adding a lustre to the most immense fortune, and not without a great share of affluence : for being born to inherit a great estate, and talents no less conspicuous, dutiful to his God, loyal to his Prince, exquisitely tender-hearted to the poor, he spent his youth in the most honourable posts, and such as reflected character on the nobleman. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Waldegrave, knight, and one of the Privy Council to Queen Mary ; a gallant young lady, equally worthy to grace the bed as well as tomb of so

noble a husband. He had by her three sons still living, universally accomplished, by a foreign education and domestic precedents. He was such a manager in his hospitality as one might pronounce at once a profuse œconomist. An affection for his country, not a lust of rule (which is usually more boundless than any other passion), roused his patriotic soul against the plunderers and seducers of it. The love of the people, and the esteem of the nobility, he rather enjoyed than courted; and chusing at all times his associates for their good, and not high qualifications, he neither deserved nor dreaded the resentment of the great, being possessed of an uncommon strength of mind, and an heroic firmness in soul and body. His behaviour was such as to leave it a doubt, whether more engaging or prevailing, more modest or genteel. The sovereigns of each sex and of each kingdom raised him—both for his deserts—Elizabeth to the rank of a knight, James to that of a baron. This mighty and worthy personage, born to do everything that was good, and dying to enjoy a better inheritance, was brought to his end by a slow, dilatory fever (if one can credit it) of almost two years' standing, without the least pain or struggle, but not without the grief and tears of everybody.

William Lord Petre his inconsolable son, who inherited his estate (I wish I could say his virtues also) erected this monument to the memory of so deserving a father.

Over the head of the lady is this short inscription :

Hic jacet D. Katharina Petre
 Quondam uxor Gulielmi Domini Petre
 De Writtle
 Filia secunda genita illustrissimi Domini
 Edwardi Somerset,
 Comitis de Worcester &c.
 Anno Ætatis Suæ XLIX, Cælestis habitationis
 avidior
 Quam longioris vitæ
 Migravit
 Die xxx Octobris, anno MDCXXIV.
 Cœlone dignior
 An mundo
 lis est.

Here lieth lady Catherine Petre,/once the wife of William Lord Petre,/ of Writtle,/Second daughter of the most renowned Lord / Edward Somerset,/Earl of Worcester, &c./Being more desirous of a mansion in the heavens / Than of a longer life,/She departed / on the 30th October, 1624 /aged 49./It is contended whether more worthy of heaven or the world.

The following is also said to be part of the inscription, but is too much effaced to be made out (or it may be on a floor-slab and covered by a seat ?) :

Non jacet hic Katherina, duos sed passa calores
 (Alter febris erat, alter amoris erat)
 Liberior coelum ut reperet, quo concita currit
 Hic posuit vestem, dum redit unde, suam.

Not here lies Katherine ; but, when freed from fevers twain,
 The one of love, the one of sickness' pain,
 Wishing to rise less cumbered to the sky,
 Summoned whereto she runs all hastily,
 She laid her garment here, till her return to lie.

It is curious that no inscription should have been carved on the tablet over the donor's head, recording his birth and death and his merits.

Upon the south side of the vestry is a tomb about four feet high, seven long, and three broad ; the sides and ends of which are of highly polished Egyptian marble, the top being of black marble, upon which is the following inscription :

D. O. M. / Certâ spe immortalitatis / Parte sui mortalis hoc tegitur
 marmore / MARIA, / Vidua Domini Roberti Petre, Baronis / de
 Writtle, Gulielmi, Johannis, & Thomæ, / una trium Baronum
 Mater, / Quæ 13 Januarii, ann. Dom. 1684/5. Annum / ætatis
 agens 82^d in terris devixit, ut / æternum in cœlo viveret. / Quò
 illam singularis in Deum pietas, Suavis in omnis benevolentia,
 Profusa in egenos liberalitas, / Inconcussa in adversis patientia. /
 Ceu igneus Eliæ currus totidem rotis, haud. dubiè evexerunt. / Sicut
 sol oriens mundo in altissimo Dei ; sic mulieris bonæ species in
 ornamentum domus suæ. Eccl. 26. A. E. I. O. U.

In English :

To the most mighty and beneficent God. In certain hope of immortality this monument contains what was mortal of MARY, widow of Lord Robert Petre, baron of Writtle, the only mother of three barons, William, John, and Thomas, who on the 13th of January in the year of our Lord 1684/5, and of her age 82, departed this life on earth for an eternal one in heaven. Whither her unexampled piety towards God, her engaging goodness to mankind in general, her unbounded charity to the poor, her unshaken calmness in adversity, have, like the fiery chariot of Elijah, on so many wheels, undoubtedly carried her. As the sun when it ariseth in the high heaven ; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of her house. Eccl. xxvi. 16.

The vowels at the end of the inscription have puzzled many learned people ; they are not mentioned in Muilman's or

Wright's histories, but were certainly cut at the same time, and by the same hand, as the rest of the inscription. It has been suggested to me that they represent the Greek words for 'Always not', but this makes no sense without transpositions; or that they were the first letters of the words of some doxology: but the Rev. R. Grant, the Priest at Ingatestone Hall, gives me, I think, a quite satisfactory explanation, i. e. that they are the initial vowels of the Psalms that were said for the souls of the faithful departed:

- A Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam.
- E Expectans, expectavi Dominum.
- I In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar.
- O Omnes gentes plaudite Dominum.
- U Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem?

These Latin headings of the Psalms will be found in our English Prayer Book. These Psalms were recited for the dead, and were in Breviaries in use before 1568. The Offices were then long, and tedious through their constant recital, and in mercy to those on whom the obligation to recite them rested—i. e. clergy, monks, and nuns—Pius V issued a bull considerably shortening the Offices, and the five Psalms ceased to be of obligation and were henceforth omitted from the Breviaries. (His Holiness Pius X has lately (1912) again shortened the Offices, to the benefit of the secular Clergy, who have so much to occupy their time.) But many Breviaries with the old Offices would have remained in the possession of the faithful, and the music of the five old Psalms must have lingered in their memory, for it was 114 years after their obligatory disuse that these vowels were carved on old Lady Petre's tomb, and surely 'Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem?' must often have been on her lips in those days of persecution.

In perusing old manuscript Breviaries the Rev. R. Grant had occasionally come across the direction 'A. E. I. O. U. pro defunctis', and on seeing the vowels carved on our tomb at once recognized them as symbols of the beautiful Psalms for the departed. I am very greatly indebted to Father Grant for his kindness in giving me the benefit of his learning in the whole

of this most interesting explanation, for which I had sought in vain elsewhere.¹

An old parish clerk averred that the letters stood for the Austrian motto, 'Austriae est imperare orbi universo'.² The writer of the epitaph may have had in his mind not only the gracious Psalms for the departed, but the thought of the great Empire under the domination of the See of Rome,³ to which undoubtedly the Petre family desired to see England return. Father Edward Petre was at this time constantly at the Hall, and may himself have written the epitaph. He was frequently abroad, and would be in contact with the Austrian authorities in the Netherlands. But I have no doubt the Psalms were the real motive.

On the vestry floor, i.e. north Petre chapel, arms in lozenge at top :

Here lyes / the Body of the Honourable / Mary Petre daughter of the Right / Hon^{ble} Thomas L^d Petre by Dame Mary / his wife, Daughter of Thomas Clifton / Bart^t, who departed this life, in the twentieth [*sic*] year of her age / on the tenth day of April / in the year of our Lord / 1713.

This lies under the great monument and faces the window.

The next two are near the window and face the monument ; a coat of arms at top :

Here ly's the Body of the Right / Hon^{ble} Brigitte Lady Petre / Relict of the Right Hon. William / Lord Petre, Baron of Writtell, daughter of John / Pynchon of Writtell, Esq. She / dy'd on the 5th day of January / In the 42nd year of Her age / Ann^o Dom. 1694.

Here lyes y^e Body of John / Petre Esq^r 4th Son to the / Right Hon. Will. Lord Petre, who / died y^e 30th March, 1660, aged 64 years.

On the east wall of the south chancel :

Heare lyeth entred the body of Robert Petre, youngest brother to Sir William Petre, knt. / of Westminster in the Cown. of Mid. esq.

¹ I cannot find these Psalms so selected and arranged in early printed Latin, Sarum, or Quignon Breviaries. Were they an echo of the Mithraic invocation of the vowels? Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 33, 34, 191, &c. The invocation of the seven (Greek) vowels was connected with the cult of the seven planets; the sun, moon, and stars were the dwellings of the souls through which they ascended after death.

² See Appendix K.

³ See J. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, seventh ed., pp. 46, 348.

who lyved and dyed a faythful officer / to the most famus Queene
Eliza, / in the receyte of her majesty's Exchequer.

He departed this lyfe at Weste Thorndon in Essex ;

Sept 20,

in the year of our Lorde God 1593.

Outside the church there is on the east wall of the south
chapel a stone tablet, much obliterated, which reads thus :

[?] P
sans Dieu rien
A. P

Possibly this commemorates the building of the south chapel
in memory of Sir William and Dame Anne Petre.

CHAPTER XVIII

DANIEL SUTTON AND INOCULATION

THE middle of the eighteenth century found the roads and village in much excitement and commotion. Let me go back a little.

It was probably the Black Death,¹ or one of the earlier outbreaks of plague, that caused the field marked in the Tithe Map 'Pest Field', and situated in Stock Lane (fourth over the railway-bridge beyond Ingatestone Rectory), to be set apart for those who died of it.

It is a curious but undoubted fact that as plague died out small-pox took its place, and was at first even more dreaded than the familiar plague, which had been in possession of England two or three hundred years before its final and rather sudden disappearance in 1665. Small-pox was a far more fatal complaint then than now—kings, queens, and nobles went down before it as quickly as the commons, and the doctors searched for remedies in vain. Finally they tried inoculation with the complaint itself, as our doctors to-day do with plague and typhoid, but at first their efforts were signally unsuccessful, and so many inoculated people died that the practice naturally fell into bad repute. But in 1760 Doctor Sutton, of Ipswich, inoculated his patients on a different system, and with such marked success that only two out of 17,000 died—one being a hard drinker, and the other a lady who against his express directions had drunk large quantities of spirits of hartshorn.

Daniel Sutton, his son, having learned the art, started an establishment for the cure at Ingatestone in 1763. Hither flocked thousands of people to him during the next few

¹ The authorities for this chapter are C. Creighton's *History of Epidemics*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Chelmsford Chronicle*.

years, and he was quite as successful as his father, for during this time he treated 20,000 people, of whom not one died.

The patients had to prepare themselves before they came to him by abstaining from animal food, and all fermented liquor and spices, for a fortnight, during which time they lived on milk and fruit of all kinds; they were then inoculated from a patient suffering from the small-pox in a very early stage, and would often be put to sleep in the same bed as an infected person. They had also to take exercise in the open air till the fever appeared, when they were kept in bed for a few hours, dosed with cold water first, then warm balm tea and thin gruel, and as soon as the eruption appeared they had to get up and walk about the house and garden. Small wonder, perhaps, that many of the inhabitants of Ingatestone objected to Sutton's presence here, with his numerous following; though perhaps the shopkeepers may have approved of it as good for trade. In 1765 Mr. Sutton found himself put upon his trial at Chelmsford Assizes for spreading abroad the contagious particles of small-pox, but the Grand Jury threw out the bill, and he continued to treat patients in the village, much to the annoyance, not to say indignation, of our inhabitants, who forthwith put the following advertisement into the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, with a covert hit at the powers that be, lamenting that they cannot remove the Evil further from the town, 'through Defect in the Laws or Remissness in the Magistrates,' and assuring travellers there is no fear of infection.

INOCULATION.

The great success with which Mr. Sutton has carried on Inoculation for the Small-pox in the Neighbourhood of Ingatestone, and the great Number of Patients he has had and discharged, has in Consequence occasioned many of their Friends, and even some of those who designed to be inoculated, previous to the Operation to lodge in the public Inns of the Town. From these Circumstances many Reports came to be spread about the Country that are prejudicial to the Interest of the Inhabitants, by deterring Travellers from stopping there. And whereas it has been said in particular that Mr. Coverdale at the Swan had let Part of his House for this Purpose of Inoculation; This is to certify the Public that no part of the said House has been lett for that Purpose and that none of Mr. Sutton's Patients have at any time to our Knowledge laid in any of the Inns of the

said Town during their State of Infection. We do further assure the Public, that we have great Reason to think that no Person in the Town has caught the Small-Pox from Mr. Sutton's Patients coming into the Town, because many single Persons and some whole Families who have never had the Small-Pox still continue free from it, though they have such frequent intercourse with Mr. Sutton, and his Patients as must have communicated the infection, were the Contagion in any Degree equal to what it is from the same Distemper in the Natural Way. We do further assure the Public that every possible Precaution is and shall be taken by us the Innkeepers in the said Town to guard against any Danger to Travellers who may have occasion either to stop or to lodge in the Town. We hope therefore, as it is not in our Power, either through Defect in the Laws or Remissness in the Magistrates to execute them, to remove the Evil to a greater Distance, the Public will accept our best Endeavours to accommodate them with Safety.

Inhabitants of Ingatestone and Frierning,

Pierce Lloyd, Rector.

W. Bright } Surgeons and

R. Steed } Apothecaries.

Jos. Robert.

Jos. Brown.

Ed. White.

Robert Sorrell.

Ed. Stokes.

John Webb.

Thomas Jones.

Henry Dent.

John Coverdale.

30 April, 1765.

Not all of the neighbours disapproved, for we read : ' A very worthy, sensible, and learned Clergyman in the neighbourhood, whose children had been inoculated, certified to its efficiency.'¹

Great must have been the satisfaction of the two-year-old *Chelmsford Chronicle* to find advertisements pouring in, not only from the innkeepers, but from Sutton himself and his rivals—short ones repudiating the slanders spread about him, and long ones puffing the new Treatise he was bringing out at the cost of one guinea. Then follow advertisements from doctors in the neighbourhood, at Danbury and Great Baddow, offering to inoculate at a cheaper rate, and from a farmer who takes in lodgers at his farm for the process. Happy days, when farmers could turn an honest penny outside their lawful trade with no fear of Sanitary Inspectors to worry them! But Sutton advertises more profusely than any one else; with the golden guineas pouring in, he can afford a whole column, whilst the local man can but run to a quarter, and he warns

¹ Possibly Sir George Baker, 1766.

the public with great vehemence not to believe these Catch-Penny Pamphlets, nor to take other practitioners' medicines, but come and put themselves under his care.

INOCULATION.

Mr. Sutton continues to conduct his inoculating Scheme with the greatest Safety, Ease, and Expedition, free from all other infectious Complaints whatsoever, notwithstanding what has been confidently said to the Contrary, by partial Persons in the Neighbourhood of Chipping Ongar; therefore he humbly hopes such infamous Reports will be paid no Regard to, not doubting but what they are undeservedly calculated to depreciate his laudable Reputation, as well as a Scandalous Report relative to Miss Sally H - - - n which undoubtedly was spread merely from Spleen, by reason of her Family and Friends giving him an undeniable Character. Ingratitude is unpardonable!

N.B. Mr. Sutton has within these last twenty Weeks inoculated nine hundred and twenty-three patients.¹

Next year's paper is full of advertisements of his forthcoming 'Treatise on Inoculation, by Daniel Sutton, Surgeon, price one guinea. Now preparing for the Press. To contain the whole method of his practice', so that any one may be absolutely enabled to inoculate himself, his friends or family, with the greatest safety. Sufficient medicine for three persons was to be given with the book, and full directions for treatment, according to the age and constitution of the subject, with rules how to procure the best infective matter and how to preserve it. And he proceeds to argue that though a guinea may seem too much for a poor person to expend, it is to be considered that, as enough medicine is given for three persons, poor people may join together and so surmount the difficulty, but he does not explain where the families will come in. The treatise without the medicine would be sold for Three Half Crowns. And he puts a note to say he has 'inoculated near Ten Thousand People without losing a single Patient and defies the Envious and Prejudiced to prove the contrary'. Constantly he warns people not to go to other inoculators but to come to him, and advertises that he has the most convenient houses near Ingatestone for receiving patients—which seems a little inconsistent with the puffing of his book.

¹ *Chelmsford Chronicle*, May 17, 1765.

The Suttons declined to say what their medicines were compounded of; though they were willing to teach their method to local practitioners, the medicines must be bought from them. T. Row writes to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1768) saying it would be desirable to become masters of their medicines, 'indeed it is absolutely necessary, so much depending upon it,' and he suggests that Parliamentary aid should be invoked for the purpose of making an adequate compensation to the Suttons for the discovery of their medicines. 'Crowned heads have often purchased the like for the benefit of their subjects'; but he apparently does not hope this of King George III.

Whether the secret was finally discovered or sold I cannot tell, but the success of the Suttons continued, and though other practitioners lost patients, there are no accusations against them. An unhealthy child of six was inoculated with some others at Hendon, and died, but it is carefully noted that the medicine was not supposed to be Mr. Sutton's, as he is always careful to consider the age and constitution of the patient. All the children were affected in their mouths, and this one child died in great misery with mortification of the jaw.¹

Sutton did not confine himself to his practice at Ingatestone, and doubtless left some of his assistants in charge here at times, for July, 1766, found him at Ewell in Surrey, where 156 persons of all ages, from six months to sixty years, had prepared themselves for his treatment. On the 8th they were inoculated by Mr. Sutton—some from a patient in the neighbourhood (small-pox was so prevalent there never seemed any difficulty in finding persons suffering from the complaint), some from infected threads kept in vials. Dr. Hallifax, the Vicar, carefully observed the progress of the treatment, both amongst his own household and his parishioners.

The seventh day after inoculation the patients complained of great lassitude, pains in limbs or back and head, dimness of eyes, giddiness and cold shivering, feverish pulse and thirst. After taking Mr. Sutton's medicine at night they usually sweated, and the eruption began to appear the next morning,

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxvii, p. 532.

the rest came out the next night, and seldom did a patient have more than fifty pustules, most of them had less—but fewer spots meant no less pain but often more, before the eruption came out. Once the eruption was fully out, the patient was free from pain, and moved about with alacrity in the open air; in eight days more the pock began to dry away, and they soon recovered.

On Sunday, August 3rd, there was held a great Thanksgiving Service in the church, at which the greater number of the 156 recovered patients attended, and it is significant that this should occur in the middle of the eighteenth century, which is so often described as a godless period. The fame of the successful treatment so spread abroad that many more offered themselves for inoculation, and by August 12th 249 persons had been treated by Mr. Sutton, not one of whom had died. The account was signed by the Vicar, a Justice of the Peace, a Churchwarden, and others.¹

But his fame spread far beyond our village and into foreign lands. Many of the medical profession naturally looked askance at the successful practitioner who was so seriously reducing their own emoluments, but some were wise and broad-minded enough to welcome the new discovery, and notably Sir John Pringle, a physician of considerable learning, position, and ability, President of the Royal Society 1772, and a great authority on sanitation and military medicine, who received a baronetcy in 1762. A Scotchman by birth, and educated at Leyden, he was less narrow-minded than his London brethren, and in May, 1767, he wrote a letter to Mr. Brady, of Brussels, in favour of Sutton's new method.

But a yet more august person heard of him, and in December, 1767, came a letter from Count Kaunitz Rittburg in Vienna to the Austrian Ambassador here, Count Seilen, inquiring into the remedy on behalf of the Great Empress Queen Maria Theresa, and after a month's consultation the King's doctors put forth a reply :

'The opinion of his Majesty's Physicians and Surgeons given Jan. 23, 1768, in regard to Mess^{rs} Sutton's practice in inoculation

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxvi.

in consequence of a letter from Sir John Pringle dated London, May 6, 1767, to Mr. Brady of Brussels; and another from Count Kaunitz Rittburg dated Vienna, Dec. 17, 1767, to Count Seilen, Ambassador from the Empress Queen to the King of Great Britain.

London, Jan 23, 1768'

They have considered 'the subject of the Inoculation of the Small-pox' and—

'They humbly beg leave to observe, that no report whatsoever, in respect to the *general* success of Inoculation in this Country, can greatly exceed the truth; that for many years past scarce one in a thousand has failed under the inoculated Small-pox even before the time of the Suttons, where the patients have been properly prepared before, and rightly treated during the eruption with respect to external heat, diet, cooling and opening medicines. By a steady observance of these rules, and by a much freer use of the open and even cold air, than was formerly known in this country, Messrs. Sutton and others have communicated the small-pox with great success, and have thrown some new lights upon the subject of inoculation, particularly with respect to the exposing of patients to the open air, that the inoculators in England in general have adopted this method and experience the success of this daily.'

They proceed to reiterate that Messrs. Sutton's success is really due to the open-air treatment, and that he does not leave it to the option of the patients, but compels them to go out, and they see no reason why it should not succeed in Vienna, providing the patient was prepared with the same care, the inoculation performed with the same skill and prudence, and the patient equally submissive to the rules directed.

And now they leave Messrs. Sutton in the plural and come to our Sutton in the singular :

'It is said that Sutton has inoculated 40,000 patients, *without losing one*. They are not able to ascertain the number that he has inoculated, but believe he has not always been successful, though he has failed so very seldom that they do not think it ought to be considered as any objection to his method.'

And observe, they do not say he ever lost a patient, though they may have wished to suggest it to the unknowing, his lack of success being only in those cases which had an eruption with 200 spots or over. They then proceed, that they hear that when Mr. Sutton is called in to people with natural small-pox, he opens their windows wide, and often takes them out of

doors, and they do not believe this is successful. They wind up with an advertisement of themselves and the ordinary practitioners :

‘The Suttons are undoubtedly in some respects improvers in the art of inoculation, but by applying their rules too generally and by their not making a proper allowance for the difference of the Constitutions, have frequently done harm. All their improvements have been adopted by other inoculators, and in the hands of these, the art seems to be carried to very great perfection.

Sign’d

Wm. Duncan	}	Physicians to the King.
Cl. Wintringham		
R. Warren		
J. Ranby	}	Surgeons to the King.’ ¹
C. Hawkins		
D. Middleton		

But Sutton was too well known and popular a person for such a letter to be allowed to pass unnoticed, and it evidently gave rise to much correspondence in the papers, some of which the *Gentleman's Magazine* reproduced. Here is part of a letter from ‘Philaethes’. The opinion of the physicians and surgeons

‘struck me with some degree of surprize, for I have been taught to think that the superior station of such men would preserve them from the extreme meanness of quacks and mountebanks. The first considerations that occurred to me on reading this curious production of these satellites of physic, that borrow their lustre from the Crown of Great Britain, were these: Will not the learned baron Von Swieten from this specimen conceive a most exalted idea of English physicians? Will he not be puzzled to make an apology to her imperial Majesty for having advised her to consult such dark lights? Will he attempt to explain away the inconsistencies and contradictions of their opinion? Or will he, with his usual plain honesty, tell her “Madam this is a paper dictated by jealousy, written by the hand of self-interest, and calculated for the meridian of London.” It is evident that one half of these gentlemen are envious of Mr. Sutton’s reputation as an inoculator, and the other half afraid of his running away with their practice. It is true they acknowledge, because all Britain knows it, that Mr. Sutton has improved the practice of inoculation. But then they insinuate that having learnt a part of Mr. Sutton’s improvements they ought to be esteemed better inoculators than their master.’

He believes that Sir J. Pringle’s letter in praise of Sutton

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 75, 215.

was mainly right, and that, though the number of patients may not quite reach 40,000, still it is immense, and that though a few may have had more than the regulation 200 pustules, they have recovered, and that 300 was nothing accounted of until Sutton had taught them better. And so he continues to chaff them, and winds up :

‘ Happy Court of Great Britain possessed of such infallible doctors. Your Majesty can draw from this most disingenuous opinion that Mr. Sutton has been the most extensive and most successful inoculator in Great Britain.’

And ‘ Pro Republica semper ’ is even more severe. He says :

‘ Praise and blame are thrown upon the Suttons so freely in the course of half a dozen paragraphs, that it amounts to inconsistency and contradiction. Their *judicious treatment* is celebrated in one paragraph and their *unsuccessful practice* in another. In short they *know* and they do *not know*, they are *judicious* and they are *ignorant*, their use of cold air is *right* and it is *wrong*, and to those who have adopted their practice it has done *great good* and *great harm*, all in half a page.’

And he suggests that these great men never wrote it themselves, but that some sly joker composed this heap of inconsistency, and put their names to it.

In 1769 Sir John Pringle, who had used his good offices in defending Sutton and recommending his system, was the recipient of three gold medals and eighteen silver medals sent by the Emperor and Empress Queen by their Austrian Ambassador as a mark of their esteem for the share he had in introducing the practice of inoculation into the Austrian Dominions; and for recommending Dr. Ingenhouse, who had happily succeeded in carrying that practice into execution.¹ No mention is made of Sutton, and it seems rather hard that the medals should not have been presented to the discoverer but to the middleman.

The same year found the practice spreading to Russia, whither Mr. Dimsdale, an Essex man, his father living at Theydon Gernon, was summoned for the purpose by the fearless and public-spirited Catherine.² The ‘ Empress of Russia was inoculated, and is perfectly recovered, without one day’s confinement; be it remembered to the honour of this Princess

¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1769, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, 1768, p. 586.

the practice is unknown in her country and she was the first to be operated upon.' Mr. Dimsdale operated upon various of the Russian princes and others, and was made this year (1768) Councillor of State and Baron of the Russian Empire. The title is of course well known amongst us to-day.

Family tradition says that Dimsdale was Sutton's pupil, and it may well have been so; having practised for some years he came into a fortune and retired, but his second marriage brought a large family, and with his connexions at Theydon Gernon—not far from Ongar, with which Sutton was in close touch¹—it was easy for him to make the acquaintance of the great inoculator and become one of his assistants. When Catherine sent for Sutton he was at the height of his prosperity, and naturally not anxious to leave his easy post in England to undertake a dangerous task in Russia, for though the Empress offered £12,000 down and an annuity of £500, she also agreed to arrange relays of fast horses to take the inoculator safely (if possible) out of the kingdom, in the event of any fatalities. So Sutton is said to have declined, and suggested his pupil Dimsdale, who accepted the post, with the well-known result.

They were not the best of friends afterwards, for Dr. Dimsdale published a furious attack upon Sutton, part of his complaint being that Sutton had received 40,000 or 50,000 guineas in the last three years, to which Dr. Giles Walls replies, that surely the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that the amount Sutton has received is no disproof of the value of his inoculation. It really became fashionable to undergo the treatment, and there is constant notice in the Court news of royalty, &c., being inoculated, as to-day we read of distinguished and undistinguished persons being operated upon for appendicitis.

But the practitioners were not always so skilful and careful as Sutton. In small-pox and imperfect inoculation the inflammation and pustules were often so great as to stop up the passages in the nostrils and throat if great care was not taken, rendering breathing extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible.² Deaths still sometimes occurred, as, for instance,

¹ See advt., p. 263.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1768, p. 472.

in the case of the thirteenth child of George III—Octavius ; but the blame for his death must rest partly upon the King, who disobeyed the instruction that the patient must be kept warm just before the eruption was due to come out, for on the cold spring evening when the child should have been in bed to bring out the rash, the foolish father took him out in the garden at sunset time, and within twenty-four hours the young child was dead, apparently from suffocation (1783).¹

¹ Mrs. Papendick, *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 270.

DANIEL SUTTON
From a pastel drawing

CHAPTER XIX

SUTTON, HIS HOUSES AND HIS FAMILY

DANIEL SUTTON was the second son of Robert Sutton, a doctor at Framlingham, Norfolk, and his wife Sarah, daughter of John Barker, of Debenham, Suffolk. Born at Framlingham (?) on the 4th of May, 1735, he was baptized on the 23rd of May at Kenton, where his paternal grandfather lived.

After assisting his father for some years in the process of inoculation that the latter had discovered, the young man decided to start for himself, and somewhere within easy reach of London, where he might hope to find more numerous and more wealthy patients than those who flocked to his father, then at Ipswich. He therefore turned his eyes to our little town, with which he would be familiar on his journeys from his home to London. Thoroughly well known to many Londoners who used the Harwich route to the Continent, and to others who came to our important weekly cattle market, the dining or supping place of many coaches, yet withal quite country, Ingatestone seemed an ideal place to him. He also took a house in town at Kensington Gore, which he called Sutton House, but as an important part of the treatment was exercise in the open air whilst the eruption was out, it was impossible for him to receive many patients there without exciting more interference than he cared for.

The house in the village in which he boarded his patients, and the garden in which they walked about with the eruption fully out, may possibly have been that now in the occupation of Dr. Stirling-Hamilton,¹ for Miss Hogg, who once lived there, remembers that in a cupboard was found an old notebook, left by a former occupant, a physician, in which he

¹ On the west side of the High Street, two doors below the Market Place, now called Brandon House.

related how he made his patients walk about in the large garden at the back. The owner of the note-book was not Daniel Sutton, but a later owner, who pulled down the old house and rebuilt it at the end of the eighteenth century. The house has a large and convenient garden at the rear.

Sutton bought for his own private residence *Maisonnette*, convenient to the village yet standing on higher and fresher ground than his other house, and though it does not appear that he took patients there at first, he may well have done so when they arrived in such great numbers, for from his advertisement in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* he used more than one house here as a hospital.

Daniel Sutton was but twenty-eight years old when he started his practice in Ingatestone, and seldom can a young man have earned so handsome an income by his own handiwork in so short a space of time. His practice must have been very profitable, for his first year brought in 2,000 guineas, and his third 6,000 guineas. The poor he treated gratis, and a hundred or two would come to him in one day. For those years our old road and village must have been thronged with pilgrims on their way to the new and fashionable cure, the coaches filled to overflowing, and the inn-yards crammed with vehicles and beasts of all kinds, from my lord's smart chariot to the humble donkey of the cottager. Sometimes, as many as six or seven hundred persons would be inoculated in a day.

In May, 1766, Sutton was honoured with an article in the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, printed in large type, which shows the reputation he was making, for those early numbers of our paper contained but little local news, and were largely made up of cuttings from the London papers, and it is curious to find that the greater portion of the advertisements were of patent medicines.

'Mr. Sutton, who has inoculated many thousands without losing a single Patient, having it frequently hinted to him by the Gentry his Patients how agreeable it would be to have the Duty of the Church performed on Wednesdays and Sundays with a Sermon, has determined to oblige them in their Request, and speedily to build a spacious Chapel-Room. The Rev. Robert Houlton, M.A. and Chaplain to the Earl of Ilchester, is the Gentleman chosen to

officiate, for which he will have the genteel Salary of 200 Guineas per Annum. To commence at Michaelmas next and made certain to him for a Term of years.'

This chapel may have been part of the house at the south-west corner of the Market Place, now (1913) called Chapel House. It backs on to the garden previously mentioned as that in which the patients may have walked, and has a large room that would have been suitable for a chapel.

The Rev. R. Houlton not only ministered to the patients, but preached and published a sermon in defence of Sutton. The chaplain must have brought with him his son, Robert Houlton, jun., a young Demy of Magdalen College, for two years afterwards young Robert Houlton was inoculating in Ireland, and published at Dublin a book on *The Discovery and Practice of Inoculation*, which he must have learnt from Daniel Sutton.

The year 1767 found Sutton a well-to-do bachelor with town and country house, a large and growing practice, and much popularity as well as some enemies, and it seemed to him time to marry. His choice fell on a widow from the West Indies; perhaps he thought a young widow would be better calculated to manage his very miscellaneous and constantly changing establishment than an inexperienced girl.

With his marriage in prospect Sutton bethought him that it would add to his dignity and position if the Heralds College would grant him a coat of arms, and for this he applied. That which was granted him could not have added to the pleasure with which his medical brethren regarded him, though it showed a considerable sense of wit and humour in the designer.

'We . . have in allusion to, and as a Memorial of his great Skill and unparalled Success in Inoculation, devised, and do by these Presents grant and assign to the said Daniel Sutton the arms following, that is to say Argent, a Civic Crown proper, on a Chief Azure a Serpent nowed Or and a Dove of the Field respecting each other; and for the crest, on a Wreath of the Colours a Demi-Figure the Emblem of Love holding the Hymeneal Torch All proper, with this motto, TUTO, CELERITER, ET JUCUNDE.'¹

¹ The grant included his father, Robert Sutton, and his descendants.

To quote M. A. Pory's *Heraldry*, a popular work which was published the previous year :

'The *Civic* Crown was made of oak-boughs, and bestowed upon such a Roman citizen, as had saved the life of one of his fellow citizens, either in battle or at an assault. *Virgil* calls it *civilis quercus*.* This Crown was so highly esteemed among the Romans, that it was conferred upon *M. T. Cicero*, for having detected *Catiline's* conspiracy ; and afterwards upon *Augustus Caesar* himself.

* At qui umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

ÆN. Lib. vi. Ver. 772.

But they, who crown'd with oaken wreaths appear. DRYDEN.'

Azure, says our author, signifies vigilance and perseverance. The serpent was the symbol of Esculapius, the god of medicine, but it was also suggestive of wisdom, and called to mind the text 'wise as serpents and harmless as doves', so the dove was added and the two remain regarding each other.

Sutton settles the arms on medical grounds, and with his approaching marriage in view he takes for his crest an emblem of Love with the hymeneal torch, winds up with the cheerful motto, 'Safely, quickly, and pleasantly', and four days before his wedding becomes entitled to be called Esquire and blazon a coat of arms upon his carriage.

On the 24th of August, 1767, at Chertsey, he married Mrs. Weestley, of Antigua, and next year came the birth of his son Daniel, who was baptized at St. Margaret's, Westminster ; and a little later was born his daughter Frances Domenechetti. Here he enjoyed a few years of married life, but whilst the two children were still young his wife went to revisit Antigua one winter, and shortly after arrival there she died. Family tradition says the air of Ingatestone did not agree with her, but we modern inhabitants may be permitted to suggest that the constant crowd of patients coming and going, and the undoubted dislike of the neighbours to her husband's presence, must have made residence here very uncomfortable to the poor lady, and affected her health as much as did the climate.

Frequently journeying about for the purpose of inoculating people in different parts of the country, Daniel Sutton did not escape the fate that befell so many travellers in those days, and passing through Whittlebury Forest he was on one occasion

held up by a highwayman.¹ A letter containing a graphic account by Daniel Sutton of his encounter, and how he got off by going with his captor to a distant cottage to attend the robber's wife, who was providentially lying ill of the small-pox, was a few years ago still extant, and in the hands of old Mr. Wigg, of East Dereham, by whom it was much valued, but since his death it has been unfortunately lost or mislaid. The wealthy Sutton was more fortunate than most captured travellers in escaping with his pockets unrifled.

Besides his houses at Ingatestone he bought one near Southend, for inoculation patients, and called it the 'Pest House'. Later on, when it was no longer needed for that purpose, it was let out to cottagers, market gardeners, and Southend visitors, and was then called euphemistically, or more prudently, 'Paste Houses', and this name remained until a few years ago, when the family sold it. This house was about a couple of miles to the north of Southend in Eastwood parish, and is marked in the Ordnance Survey *Pest Houses*.² I learn from the present Vicar that the old name still remains, though the memory of Sutton and his inoculation is remembered no more in Eastwood than in Ingatestone.

No record is to hand of his later years, nor how long he continued to occupy Maisonnette. His London residence in 1797 was Great Newport Street, and later, Hart Street, Bloomsbury. Here on the 3rd of February, 1819, his busy and not quiet life came to an end. His will is dated August 15, 1818.

As Maisonnette remained in the hands of his descendants until quite recent years we may be permitted to follow shortly the fortunes of his family. Brought up to see the guineas flowing in with so little apparent effort, it is not surprising that young Daniel Sutton could never properly appreciate the value of money, and always made it go faster than it came. Put into the law by his father, he started practice as a solicitor at Colchester; his heart, however, was not in his work, but, like

¹ The name of Dick Turpin was given to me, but as the great highwayman was executed when D. Sutton was only four years old it must have been the son, or a follower.

² The description in Benton's *History of Rochford Hundred* is not correct as to the small-pox.

the hearts of so many Essex men, away on the waters of our estuaries. On the 17th of March, 1790, he married at Stock Miss Anne Richardson, daughter of Mr. William Richardson, of Bury St. Edmunds. He took a house at Wivenhoe on the river Colne, but passed more time yachting than in his office at Colchester. He spent his money freely on boats and yacht-racing, and built a quay at Wivenhoe to which he gave his name. In one of his fast boats he is said to have brought to Wivenhoe, some say to London, the first news of the victory of Waterloo.

As the years went by, children came to Daniel junior, but no wisdom; twice his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Campbell, came to his rescue, but the third time the only offer of help was that of a passage to Tasmania for himself and his family, and this Sutton was compelled to accept. His wife died of cholera in England, but he and his sons and daughters set sail. The girls must have had much grit, and perhaps good looks, for on the way out one became engaged to Lieutenant Wood and married him as soon as they reached land; another went at once as governess in Sydney, and shortly after married Sir Charles Cowper, of Sydney, Governor of New South Wales; and the other sister married a Captain Friend. A very tragic fate befell the son, Robert, who went on an expedition to New Caledonia (? or the Sandwich Isles), and there fell into the hands of cannibals and was eaten by them. Daniel Sutton himself remained in Hobart Town until his death, impecunious to the end. Our Daniel Sutton's daughter, Frances, after she left school, lived with her uncle's widow, Mrs. Sutton, mother of Dr. John Sutton, for her father's establishment was hardly a desirable one for a young girl; from here she married Mr. Charles Campbell, of Edmonton, and has left many descendants. To those who believe in heredity the following extract from a letter of Mr. Frank Campbell, her grandson, may be interesting.

'I inherit from the Suttons my love of anatomy. At Bonn I attended the lectures and dissecting-rooms whenever I had time. This, in my business days, was followed by microscopic dissections, and I discovered certain organs (three different ones) new to science in the Arachnids. Not long since I received a German paper

published by a Scientific Society quoting and confirming my work, and honouring me by calling one of my discoveries 'Campbell glands'. My own papers were published in the Linnean Society's *Journal*. I always liked the scientific work of the profession, but I disliked medical practice.'

It is pleasant to think that the kindness shown to Dan Sutton and his family by Mrs. Sutton and Mr. Campbell was in some measure repaid, for when John Sutton of a later generation went out to Sydney for his health many years afterwards, he found his cousins settled there, and was received by them with great kindness and affection.

There is still in the possession of the family a fine oil-painting, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of Daniel Sutton, the inoculator, in the prime of life, seated, in plum-coloured coat, knee-breeches, white silk stockings and powdered hair; also another portrait of him, one of his wife, and others of his children and their descendants—all with the sharp-cut nose that is so marked a feature in the father and son, and most of them very good-looking.

It is strange that Sutton should have escaped the eagle eye of the editor of the great *Dictionary of National Biography*, where so many of his rivals appear; yet his name remains on our Parliament rolls, for in a Bill before Parliament in 1808 it is called 'the Suttonian inoculation', to distinguish it from cow-pox inoculation.¹ And Sutton left his mark upon our literature, for it was the popularity of his safer method of inoculation that Goldsmith had in his mind when he made Mrs. Hardcastle say to Hastings: ² 'I vow, since inoculation began, there is no such thing to be seen as a plain woman: so one must dress a little particular or one may escape in the crowd.'

I am indebted to Mrs. Alex. Campbell, of Holland Park, and through her to many members of Daniel Sutton's family,³ for much of the above information, and also for permission to reproduce the pastel drawing of the great inoculator.

¹ C. Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, p. 609.

² *She Stoops to Conquer*, 1773.

³ Daniel Sutton's wife was Rachel, widow of William Weestly of Shepton Mallet, Somerset, and daughter of Simon and Frances Worlock of Antigua. She was born at St. John's, Antigua, Sept., 1746, and died there 1773. The Worlocks owned most of the Island.

CHAPTER XX

HOUSES

It may safely be asserted that all the really old houses in our parishes were built of timber and plaster, with the exception of Ingatestone Hall, which stands by itself as having been built partly by the wealthy Abbey of Barking in the fifteenth century, when the art of brick-making was beginning to revive, and later by Sir William Petre, some of whose additions may well have been formed with material from other buildings in the neighbourhood, belonging to religious bodies. In some cases the old houses now have a partial face of brick, either because the plaster at the base became decayed, or because a few bricks on the front were supposed to improve the appearance. But the presence inside of solid timber supports and beams may be taken as a sure sign of the age of a house. The wealth of oak in the neighbourhood is everywhere apparent in the profusion with which it was used in the walls and floors of these old buildings; like silver in the time of King Solomon, 'it was not anything accounted of'. Some of the cottages are of considerable antiquity, and have remains of oak floors that are likely to outlast many of the machine-planed ones laid down to-day. It sometimes occurs to my lay mind that the old planing of the wood with the adze produced a far more durable surface than that given by the modern plane.

The houses are taken alphabetically as more convenient for reference, as well as avoiding invidious comparisons of respective values. The names of former inhabitants found in the registers are given as far as possible.

Adkins. Most undoubtedly this is an old house, and the solidity with which it is built, and the grand old timber beams which support it, would point to its having been a residence

of some little importance. It is in Ingatestone, and unlike its neighbours its name does not appear at all in the old registers, though the name of a family of Adkins appears towards the end of the eighteenth century. Possibly it may have been the place called Upland in both registers, which I have not been able to identify with any other house, and its position would justify that name. Or I may suggest that it was the original Woolpack Inn (q.v.), which I have been told was formerly at Spilfeathers. The two houses lie opposite to each other, and Adkins is the better and more solidly built of the two, and may well have been a flourishing inn in old times.

It was formerly panelled with oak, of which only a small portion remains, though the oak beams and posts are in evidence everywhere, and one room still retains its oak floor. The front casing of brick is modern. The dining-room still contains a deep old fireplace, with seats at the side; and at the back of the present grate is a handsome fire-back. The centre is hidden by the present grate, but it is rather taller than wide, with flowing floral tracery at the side, and is probably of the Dutch type (see *Grange* and *Hut*). On the ceiling of the same room is ¹_S 1792 deeply cut in the plaster. The house is now in the occupation of Mr. Urquhart.

Brandon House. (*Brandiston, Melbourne House.*) This house was rebuilt at the end of the eighteenth century by a doctor; afterwards it belonged for many years to Mr. Hogg. It has a large garden in the rear, and I have suggested that it may have been that in which Daniel Sutton treated his patients. It is now in the occupation of Dr. Stirling-Hamilton.

Chapel House. In the Market Place. Possibly so called from a former owner, as there have been Chapels in the parish. Perhaps it was the site of the Chapel that Daniel Sutton built for the convenience of his patients.

The Cottage, Fryerning. This is an old house lying close to Lyndsays. It has recently had additions made to it. Here lived at the end of the eighteenth century the Rev. Walter Farrell and his family (p. 153). It is now occupied by Mrs. Rose.

The Cottage, Ingatestone. The front part of this house, which stands above the high road at the extreme south end of the village, is quite old; the back part has been recently added. No history seems to attach to it. It is at present inhabited by Mr. and Mrs. Porter (Miss Caldicot).

Delmore. Built about twenty years ago by Mr. H. G. M. Conybeare, who still resides there. I believe it is called after the name of the field on which it was built. The bricks of the garden pergola came from the old Anchor Inn in the village, which was pulled down and rebuilt about five years ago.

Dodds. A picturesque old house near Fryerning Rectory, lately renovated by the present owner, Mr. Sikes. It is marked in Chapman and André's map, 1774, and also in the Ordnance map, 1804, as Abridge, which can hardly be a mistake for Heybridge, as the latter was then a tan-yard and is so marked in the maps.

Fryerning Grange, formerly *Blankets*. Blankets was one of many old small farmhouses of the neighbourhood. It was pulled down about 1870 by Mr. Parkinson, who built the present house on the site of the old one, did away with the ancient name of Blankets, and called it Fryerning Grange. Mr. Parkinson was also responsible for enclosing a piece of roadside waste on Beggar Hill, near the present pump; it is now planted with white poplars, but the double hedge remains, and middle-aged men remember playing on that ground as boys. He also attempted to close the footpath running from Fryerning road to Beggar Hill, but after many lively scenes, when Mr. H. G. Conybeare and his brother assisted in destroying the obstacles erected on the path, the path was preserved to the public use. Behind the house lies a field, marked on the Tithe Map 'Church field'; owner, Mr. E. Sikes.

Fryerning Hall. When I first came to the parish, I mistook this charming old house for the Rectory, and remarked to a native how picturesque the Rectory was, to which she replied rather scornfully, 'Do you think so?' A little later I discovered that the real Rectory was below, and that my friend's

OAK BEDROOM, FRYERNING HALL

N. W.
LINEN-FOLD PANELLING, FRYERNING HALL

N. W.
OAK MOULDING AND PANELLING, FRYERNING HALL

opinion of the Rector's abode was, 'that it was ugly enough to make your head ache'. Fryerning Hall is one of the oldest and most interesting houses in the parish, with its old timber beams and supports, its Jacobean panelled bedroom, the linen-fold Tudor wainscotting in the drawing-room, and the ancient oak moulding over the fireplaces. Near the kitchen chimney-block is a hiding-place, now closed up. The floors in some rooms are of the great wide boards that were so popular in those old days, and convey an idea of the wealth of grand timber in Essex, so unlike the modern fashionable four-inch flooring, with its penurious appearance. One of the chimneys almost rivals the Tower of Pisa in its contempt for the perpendicular. The great oak-tree that stands in the garden has seen countless generations pass into the neighbouring churchyard on their first and last journeys, but the popular idea that it is mentioned in Domesday Book is wrong, for no trees are mentioned in that august work—at least, that I am aware of. The tree is old enough to have been growing here when the Conqueror came. Some of the probable early occupants of the Hall are mentioned on p. 26. In the churchyard is a tombstone to Mr. James Andrews, who resided at the Hall forty-eight years, and for many years afterwards it was occupied by the Willis family (probably descended from Rector Willis, of Ingatestone); the present tenant is Mr. Rankin. The property has belonged to Wadham since the time of Dorothy (Petre) Wadham. *See the Illustrations.*

Fryerning Rectory. The appearance of this old house has been much improved of late years by painting the window-frames a dark colour, and encouraging the growth of creepers. In the old terrier of 1610 it is thus described: 'A Parsonage-House, and three little yards, a Barn, and a Barn-yard, an old Orchard and a new one.' In this terrier it is certified, under the hands of William Owen, the then Rector, and of the churchwardens and sidesmen of this parish, 'that of old time, beyond the Memory of Man to the contrary there was a Field call'd Parsonage-Croft, by Estimation three acres, always noted and reputed to be Glebe-Land, belonging to this

Parsonage, but in this Parsons time, taken from him, but by what right or wrong, they know not'. It seems a pity there was no Charles Hornby in the parish at the time to take up legal cudgels on this occasion for the Rector. It may possibly be the small field called Church field behind Fryerning Grange, which is about three acres. The barn has gone with the cessation of the payment of tithes in kind, but it must have seen many merry scenes in bygone days. The house has been much altered and added to at various times. The present Rector lives at a small house near Redcote, and has let the Rectory to Mr. A. P. Lucas.

Furze Hall. The age of this house is uncertain; part of it certainly dates back more than two hundred years, and if there were monastic buildings at St. Leonards (*see* Pt. I, Chap. IV) in the Middle Ages, it is possible that some of the establishment was lodged on this site. Many old drains and many old bricks are come across in digging in different parts of the garden, and there is a persistent legend among the old inhabitants that a large house once stood in one of the fields to the north of the present house. After the drought of 1911 several patches that had gone bare were opened, but no traces of any buildings were discovered. The large pond in the field called Burrins would appear to have been made for some special purpose; Mr. Miller Christy suggests for a mill-pond. The upper and lower halves are from six feet to four feet deep, with a quite shallow bar between them. The pond is fed by at least two excellent springs, which never fail, and during the dry summer of 1911 the water lowered considerably less than a foot, in spite of being drawn upon daily to the extent of six hundred gallons for three months, besides the great amount that the trees surrounding it would have absorbed. About 1870 Mr. Kortright excavated a part of the bank to make a bathing-tank, and came across some old earthenware hand-made pipes. These were lately submitted to Dr. Laver, who is inclined to think they were made early in 1600; but there seems no certainty about it. They may have been early eighteenth century, as Mr. F. Chancellor at first suggested, in which case

they would have been put in by Charles Hornby, who must have planted the banks with many of the trees now surrounding the water ; or the pipes may be older, and have been laid to carry water to some mill, or brick-kiln. The water still runs into the bathing-tank through these old pipes at a speed of two gallons in three minutes,¹ and on the hottest summer day it never exceeds a temperature of 56°. The pipes are buried at a depth of more than twelve feet, and no one knows where the spring comes from that supplies the flow of water, nor how far distant it is. The overflow of the pond goes into the ditch at the bottom of the field, is carried under the road, runs through the back premises of St. Leonards, and eventually finds its way into the lake in St. Leonards Park. As the field contains excellent brick earth it has been suggested that the pond is the result of excavations for brick-making, and this is possible, though no trace of any brick-kiln has been found, nor any remains of old bricks or pottery. It only remains to add that the water of the pond is most excellent ; Mr. Osborn describes it thus : 'A *beautiful* water, and one the cattle always do well on.' Moreover, during the dry summer of 1911, it met with great favour as being good for laundry purposes.

But to leave the pond and conjectures, and come to land and certainties. In the early part of the eighteenth century the property was bought by Charles Hornby, Secondary of the Pipe Office, an official of some importance. Morant describes him as having built a good house in Fryerning parish, and his own will of 1739 enables us to identify it as Furze Hall :

'and first I give and bequeath to my niece Elizabeth Hornby spinster who hath several years lived with me all that my messuage or tenement wherein I now reside called Furse Hall and formerly called Kamps or Knapps also Gad's Green End in the aforesaid parish of Fryerning, holden by Copy Court Roll of the Manor of Fryerning, and all the several closes or parcels of arable land pasture meadow or wood ground used with the same and also all that my copyhold cottages² adjoining to the north part of the said land newly rebuilt with brick and divided into two tenements in possession of Robert

¹ In winter ; in summer the flow is sometimes slower.

² Probably the cottage near the Hut on the east.

Wood and Francis Walker . . . I further give to my said niece all the furniture goods pictures glasses linen beds bedding and other things in that house excepting the wings and out-buildings but the Coppers and Brazing vessels are hereby given to her also 100 oz. of plate in such pieces as she shall choose all the rest of my personal estate Books Medals plate pictures Stock in Essex or Middlesex to be sold.'

Much of the present house must be as he left it: the hall¹ and small room adjoining, with the rooms above, the kitchen, and servants' hall. The oldest part of the house is all lath and plaster, the red brick front being only a casing built on in the nineteenth century. The drawing-room is a built-out room: it is certainly more than a hundred years old, and may have been added by Charles Hornby, as the brickwork is Old English bond. The interior of the room is lath and plaster, separated from the brickwork by ten inches, which makes the room far warmer than it would otherwise be. The dining-room was a later addition, and in the 1880's Mr. Kortright heightened the room, adding the work-room adjoining and the three bedrooms above.

The panelling of the hall is oak of Jacobean (?) period; it is covered with white paint, which seems a pity, but certainly makes the low hall much lighter, as the house is surrounded with lofty timber-trees. The bedrooms above the hall, and the staircase, have a deep wainscot of wood; these also are painted. Charles Hornby left Furze Hall and the adjacent property to his niece Elizabeth; his messuage, with yards, outbuilding, and about two acres of ground on Mill Green, also Huskards, and several parcels of land pasture and wood ground called Howletts and Burres, 'or by whatever name called', he left to his nephew Joseph Hornby. This may be the Joseph Hornby whose burial is noted in 1792, though more probably this would be his great-nephew.

Charles Hornby's wife died in 1736, and is thus entered in the Fryerning register: '1736. M^{rs} Hornby of Fuz Hall bur. in y^e chancel May 4.' Three years later he himself died, and his burial is thus entered in our register: '1739. Charles

¹ This has recently been made larger by a small room on the east side being thrown into it.

Hornby Esq^r buried Sept. 24. 1739.' Many further details are given of him in Chapter VIII, but his direction that his funeral was not to cost more than £20 may here be noted, and also the first sentence of his will: 'To be better prepared for that great change which by the laws of nature and considering my years and infirmities may not be far distant and may come sooner than expected do make this my Will.'

On the death of Miss Elizabeth Hornby the property was probably acquired by Richard Richardson, scrivener, of Wood Street, Cheapside. He seems to have resided here, for on the death of his wife in 1760 he is described as of Fryerning Green; possibly the old name of Gad's Green had not yet been completely superseded by that of Furze Hall. Mrs. Richardson's death caused the following entry to be made in the register:

October 31st, 1760. The Rectors Common Fees of Bur^l in the Church Yard of a person dieing in the Parish is three shill. and four pence. In the Body of the Church is six shillings and eight pence. In the Chancel thirteen shillings and four pence, of a person dieing out of the Parish is always double. The Church Clerk has the same Fees in like Cases.

Mr. Richardson of Fryering Green whose wife died in London and was buried in their own vault.¹

paid the Curate	1. 6. 8.
pd the Ch Clerk	1. 6. 8.
and for emptying the vault of water and other trouble	3. 4.

Richard Richardson died in 1778 and 'was buried in a vault in the Chancel, Oct. 28, 1778'. He does not seem to have resided at Furze Hall up to the time of his death, but to have had some other residence in the neighbourhood, for Muilman says (1770): 'In this parish, West of the Church, and about a mile distant, in the road leading from Ingatestone to Ongar, is a good country-seat, belonging to Richard Richardson, Esq., and at present occupied by Christopher Cusac, Esq.' Mr. Richardson on his death left his 'copyhold estates in the parish of Fryerning, to his nephew William Richardson, of Elvistone, in the County of Derby: to his Clerk John Harris

¹ This would probably be the same vault as that in which Mr. and Mrs. Hornby were buried, and would pass with the house. Furze Hall had a pew in the chancel.

he left ' £40 and the furniture of the room he now lays in at my house in Wood Street, being the two pair of stairs forward ' ; the rest of his estate he left to Edward Umfreville, Esq., Coroner of the County of Middlesex. He made his will on the 21st of October, 1778, the witnesses being Wm. Kirkland, physician, of Chelmsford ; Richard Steed,¹ Ingatestone ; John Webb, Ingatestone. Proved November 12, 1778.

Christopher Cusack lived here with his family for many years, until his death in 1796. He came of an old Irish family, being the youngest son of Christopher Cusack of Rathaldron Castle, Co. Meath, and was probably a Roman Catholic, for on his death he left ' my friend the Rev. Thomas Bevington of Ingatestone Hall ' ² one of the guardians of his three children and executor of his will ; and against the entry of Mrs. Cusack's death in 1837 and Louisa Cusack's death in 1846, Rector Price initials ' R. C.' But Mr. Cusack evidently lived on good terms with his neighbours, and was one of the inhabitants who in Rector Stubbs's time signed a resolution that it was desirable to copy the later register out of the new paper-leaved book into one with parchment leaves. Unfortunately it was not also resolved that the ink be of best quality, and consequently the new copy is of less value than the old.

On his death in 1796 Mr. Cusack left a will which begins thus : ' In the name of God, Amen. Being sick and weak in bodily health but of sound mind memory and understanding thanks be to God I commend my soul to God and my body I commit to the earth to be buried at the discretion of my executors.' He left freehold property at Laindon, which he had bought from Smith Turner, Esq., two copyhold ' messuages of the manor of Ging Berners otherwise Ging Hospital or otherwise Fryerning in the occupation of Talbot and Dunn which I purchased of Joseph Jessopp gentleman and Dorothy his wife ', freehold property in Willingale Doe and Willingale Spain, ' and to his loving wife Elizabeth the unexpired term of

¹ Richard Steed, ' surgeon and apothecary ', was one of the inhabitants who signed the advertisement about Daniel Sutton's patients in 1765 (see p. 262).

² He is buried in Stock churchyard.

E. H. N. W.

FURZE HALL

the lease of Furz Hall with the Cattle Farming Stock Corn and other effects in upon and about the said premises Goods Chattels Household Furniture and other effects'. The will was dated January, 1793, witnessed by Antony Eglinton, Edward Gepp, and Thomas Archer, and proved June, 1796. Antony Eglinton was at one time churchwarden, and his name appears upon one of the bells. Mr. Cusack left a widow Elizabeth, and three children—Louisa, Christopher John, and Charles Thomas.

The family probably resided here for some while after his death and then moved to Billericay, from whence were brought both Mrs. and Miss Cusack to be buried with Christopher Cusack under the large brick tomb which stands in the churchyard near the south-east corner of the chancel. The property came into possession of Louisa Cusack—probably she bought it on the expiration of the Richardson lease—and it remained in her possession until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was sold to William Kortright, in whose family it still remains. (Occupied by Mr. Ernest J. Wilde.)

For many years previously Louisa Cusack had leased it to Henry Walmesley, whose name appears in the Churchwardens' Church Rate book from 1826 to 1838, after which his name disappears; that of P. Graham is entered in 1840, and in 1842 Henry Arundel was in occupation and remained until 1851. A charming account is given of the old house by Isabel, Lady Burton, who passed some of her girlhood here with her relatives, the Arundels:

1841. 'I want to describe my home of that period. It was called Furze Hall, near Ingatestone, Essex. Dear place, I can shut my eyes and see it now. It was a white,¹ straggling, old-fashioned, half cottage, half farm-house, built by bits, about a hundred yards from the road, from which it was completely hidden by trees. It was buried in bushes, ivy, and flowers. Creepers covered the walls and the verandah, and crawled in at the windows, making the house look like a nest; it was surrounded by a pretty flower-garden and shrubberies, and the pasture-land had the appearance of a small park. There were stables and kennels. Behind the house a few

¹ The front of the house would then have been lath and plaster, the dining-room a low building, with outbuildings showing beyond.

woods and fields, perhaps fifty acres, and a little bit of water, all enclosed by a ring fence, comprised our domain. Inside the house, the hall had the appearance of the main cabin of a man-of-war, and opened all round into rooms by various doors, one into a small library which led to a pretty, cheerful drawing-room, with two large windows down to the ground; one opened on to a trim lawn, the other into a conservatory. One door opened into a smoking-room, and the opposite one into a little chapel,¹ a dining-room running off by the back door with glass windows to the ground led to the garden. There was a pretty honeysuckle and jessamine porch, which came just under my window, in which wrens and robins built their nests. We had many shady walks, arbours, bowers, and a splendid slanting laurel hedge, and a beautiful bed of dahlias. A Beech² walk like the aisle of a church had a favourite summer-house at the end. The pretty lawn was filled as well as the greenhouse with the choicest flowers, and we had such a rich crop of grapes, the best I ever knew. I remember a mulberry-tree under the shade of which was a grave and tombstone and epitaph the memorial of a faithful dog. Essex is generally flat, but around us it was undulating and well wooded. The lanes, drives, and rides were beautiful. We were rather in a valley, and a pretty road wound up a rise, at the top of which our tall white chimneys could be seen smoking through the trees. The place could boast no grandeur, but it was my home.'³

The Grange. The nucleus of this house is very old, many great beams and much large timber having been used in its construction. One of the beams was taken down by Mr. Foster, the present occupant, in the course of throwing two rooms into one, and has been used by himself and his family for their carving. An old fire-back, measuring 21 x 14 inches, was discovered in a bedroom during some alterations, it was happily rescued

¹ This was the little room on the east side of the front-door, now thrown into the hall.

² A curious mistake to make, as the beautiful avenue is Hornbeam, probably planted by Charles Hornby, with a play upon his name. The greenhouse in which ripened the grapes is replaced by a smaller one which contains no vine; the mulberry-tree, alas, was cut down many years ago.

³ I must be pardoned for writing at such length on this house, first, because, after Fryerning Hall, it is the oldest house of any size in the parish of Fryerning; secondly, because it was the home of Charles Hornby, one of the very few inhabitants of the parish who has left any individual trace of himself in our annals; lastly, because I have myself spent several happy years in the old place, and heartily echo the remark made to me, soon after I came, by Mr. Samuel Avey (a much respected local builder, who has lately passed away): 'You have got a very comfortable little home here, and quite the cream of the neighbourhood.'

DUTCH FIRE-DACK, INGATESTONE GRANGE

J.P. T.P.

from destruction and skilfully repaired by the local blacksmith, Mr. Richards. The fire-back is undoubtedly of Dutch design of the time of William and Mary. In the earlier English backs the designs were either square, or broader than high, and were usually ornamented with coats-of-arms, but—

‘The taste for Netherlandish art, which had been steadily growing since the days of Rubens and Vandyke, became still more pronounced on the accession of William III. The days of manias were not far distant, and a veritable mania for Dutch fire-backs almost suddenly set in. They differ radically from those that preceded them in being very thin and light, and higher than wide, and in their swelling outlines and rich floral borders. The impress of Netherlandish art is unmistakable, even were an abundance of their counterparts not remaining in Holland and Belgium. They show how completely Dutch architecture and decoration held the field at this time, for iron castings are not susceptible of any after modification, like decoration and furniture . . . The silhouettes are based almost exclusively on the swelling lines of conventionalized dolphins, always a most popular ornament among seafaring nations.’¹

Scripture and historical scenes, gods and goddesses, took the place of the old armorial bearings, and the figure on the Grange fire-back depicts one of the goddesses—or perhaps Britannia, who after the union with Scotland makes her appearance on William’s coins. The fire-back must almost certainly have come from Holland.

In the grounds behind the house Mr. Miller Christy found traces of what he believed to be a dam for a water-mill; a small stream of water still flows there. In old days the place was probably in the occupation of a steward of the Abbess of Barking. In the early part of the last century it was called Little Phillips, and was for a great many years occupied by Mr. Clift, father of Mr. William Clift, now of Margaretting.

Hanley Green. A picturesque height lying to the west of the main road, off the Mill Green–Margaretting road: the houses are old, with quaint timbering. Some of the beams are the curved ones that were once part of the framework of a ship. Previous occupants: Samuel Saunders, John Overill, Thomas Boreham, W. Snow, Jacob Reynolds, Dan. Copsey. Mr. G. Harris now lives here.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lvi, p. 159.

Heybridge Farm. Here formerly stood a large tannery, and the old bark-mill remains but is turned into sheds for cattle. As the neighbourhood carried on an important trade in leather goods—especially Blackmore, with its leather jerkins and breeches¹—the mill must have been well occupied in the old days. It is marked 'Tan-yard' in several old maps.

Howlett's Hall. (*Stanes?*) This farmhouse is of lath and plaster, with oak flooring in the hall, on the landing, &c., but the boards are not of the width found in the older houses, and the building probably dates from the eighteenth century—perhaps the latter half. Being in Fryerning the name does not appear on our registers (p. 195); but in Charles Hornby's will (1739) he mentions amongst his property 'several parcells of land pasture and wood grounds called Howletts Burres or by what other name called'—from which it would appear there was no house at that time, as he carefully mentions his cottages and houses. There is on Fryerning Tithe Map a field, near the modern Woodcock Lodge (built by Mr. Loker about 1870), called Great Staines, and in the Ingatestone funeral register is this entry: '1665. July. Ann Tiffany servant at y^e Stanes's.' No trace of any house remains in the field to-day, but it is possible there was a small farmhouse here, occupied by the Stanes family, which was pulled down and rebuilt as Howlett's Hall, conveniently near to the Blackmore-Chelmsford road; between that road and Great Staines on the Tithe Map is a narrow strip marked 'Way'. Wright mentions a Mr. Richard Stanes, of High Ongar, who died at Ongar in 1714,² and he may have been the one mentioned above, or have been connected with our family, Richard Stanes being sometimes entered in the register as 'Esquire'.

Huskards is an old house, very much altered and enlarged by recent owners. In 1739 it was in the possession of Charles Hornby, of Furze Hall, who left it to his nephew, Joseph Hornby.

¹ Peter Powell, buried under the yew near the chancel of Fryerning Church, is said to have been a leading man in this trade.

² Vol. ii, p. 334.

HUSKARDS

B. R.

FRYERNING PARISH ROOM

B. R.

The house is not mentioned far back in the registers, so it is not easy to trace its tenants. It must have been a house of some importance in 1774, for in Chapman and André's map of that date 'Huskcurds' is printed in large type, together with Hyde and Mill Green House. In 1777 it was in the occupation of John Howard, whose widow, Dame Cornelia Bertruda Piers, has so quaint a verse upon her monument in Ingatestone Church. During the nineteenth century it was occupied by Mrs. Laver, Mr. Tindal Atkinson, Rev. M. Jephson, Mr. Malcolm, Mr. Richard Upton, and at present by Mr. F. Hilder.

The Hut. This was built in the middle of the nineteenth century by the Countess de Noailles, daughter of Mr. W. G. Coesvelt, jun., who had married a Miss Baring. The house contains a very handsome early Tudor fire-back, dated '14.91' on the right side of the base. On the left is 'MO'; the rest of the letters are illegible. It measures 2 ft. 7 in. wide; height at sides, 1 ft. 8 in.; to top of centre arch, 2 ft. 1 in. In front of the lion is the Tudor rose; in front of the unicorn, the portcullis. The arms are: France and England quarterly surrounded by garter and motto. At one time this fire-back lay face downward in the kitchen, supporting the stove; it now occupies a place of honour in the dining-room. Its provenance is uncertain, but I would suggest that it came from Smythe's Hall, Blackmore, which was pulled down in 1844, shortly before the Hut was built. Had its date been later it might have been a relic of Henry VIII's house of pleasure at Jericho. The illegible letters were perhaps H. 7th. The house belongs to the Kortright family, and is occupied by Mr. W. Kortright.

The Hyde. The present house dates from 1719, when it was rebuilt, or greatly enlarged, by Timothy Brand; but a house was here for many generations before then. White's *Gazetteer* says it existed in 1590, but gives no authority. The property probably derives its name from the ancient measure of land (p. 11). The first mention in the register is in 1624: 'Mother Brown of y^e Hide Hall.' It must have been a house of some importance in early days, for a pew was appropriated

to it in the church, as was probably done for all the farm and other houses of any size. '1680. Mr Richard Hammond from Hide on y^e south side of y^e so. alley agst Hide Pew.' In 1627 the seat had been mentioned in the Archdeacon's Court, when the Hyde belonged to Mr. William Garfoote¹: 'a mem: touching south side sedelis in the church, pro Mr. William Garfoote possessor *domus vacat* Hyde.' Possibly the new south chancel was being built then and had interfered with the Hyde pew. In 1672 Mr. Andrew Hilliard had been buried from the Hyde, and it may very likely have been his son, who married Mary Peake, daughter of Rector Peake of Fryerning. In 1682 Mr. Antony Nicolas was buried from here, and in 1700 Mr. Fancot.

About 1718 Timothy Brand bought the property, and built the present house—a building in red and black brick, of the style of William and Mary. Timothy Brand was the third son of Thomas Brand, citizen and mercer of London, who had married an Ashby, and died in 1700. Timothy for some time continued his father's business, but retired from it soon after he had rebuilt the Hyde. He married Sarah Mitchell, of Rickling, and had many children, several of them dying in infancy. He was High Sheriff in 1721, and died in 1734, his widow dying ten years later.

It is possible Mrs. Sarah Brand let the Hyde after her husband's death, for we read in Muilman's history that² 'the manor of Buckwins in Buttsbury was purchased about 1739 by Mr. Vernon of the Hyde in Fryerning, a merchant in London'.

Timothy Brand had bought the manor of Beremans, Chignal Smaley, and that of Mannocks, High Easter,³ which passed with his other landed property to Thomas, his only surviving son.

Thomas Brand was educated at Brentwood and Felsted schools, and later at Glasgow University; he entered the Inner Temple, but did not take to the law. Thomas Brand was a man with a taste for classical learning and antiquities. He formed a great friendship with Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's Inn and Corscombe, Dorset, and they travelled much together

¹ See Appendix E, p. 451.

² Vol. i, p. 236.

³ Morant, vol. ii, pp. 82, 456.

THOS. HOLLS
Painted in Rome by R. Wilson

in foreign parts. Thomas Hollis, on his death in 1774, left all his real property and the residue of his estate to 'my dear friend and fellow traveller, Thomas Brand, Esq., of the Hyde in Essex, from whom a severe plan in Life has kept me much more separate from some years past than otherwise I wished to have been'.

We may be forgiven for sparing a few lines to the memory of Thomas Hollis, for although he was never an inhabitant of our parishes his collections were for many years the glory of the Hyde, and his property has in part descended to its present owners. He lived from 1720 to 1774, and inherited much property from his father and his great-uncle. He was known as the Republican, but described himself as a true Whig, and probably the nickname arose from his fondness for republican literature of the seventeenth century, and from his books being decorated with daggers and caps of liberty. He entered Lincoln's Inn in 1740, and had chambers there till 1748, after which date he constantly travelled abroad—in Holland, France, Switzerland, Italy, &c.—and it was during these journeys that he made his collection of antiquities. He spent many hundreds a year in the purchase of books, medals, &c., of which he gave large numbers to various libraries and colleges, especially to those of Berne and Zurich, and to Harvard University, U.S.A., then called Cambridge; and in his will he left £100 to be spent on books to the following Universities—Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dublin, Geneva, Berne, and £500 to Cambridge, New England (i.e. Harvard). He also wrote works on Milton, Plato, &c. He was a man of unusual piety, though he attended no church, and for many years led the life of a recluse, abstaining from intoxicating liquors, and also butter, milk, sugar, spices, and salt. This must have been 'the severe plan of life' that he mentions in his will as having separated him from his friend Brand. In 1770 he left London, and lived in an old farmhouse on his property at Corscombe, Dorset, where he died on the 1st of January, 1774.¹

Thomas Brand does not appear to have expected this

¹ Much of the above is based on the article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

handsome legacy, or at least he expressed much surprise upon being informed of his good fortune; but some of Mr. Hollis's relations did not make themselves at all pleasant about it, though it was not unnatural that the keen collector should leave his money and treasures to one with whom he had spent so many happy and profitable days. Their first journey together was in 1748, when they left London on the 19th of July, and embarked at Harwich on the following day *en route* for Holland. The year 1753 found them in Italy, keen after the Roman and Etruscan antiquities that were at that period so constantly being unearthed; and if not always wise in their purchases yet many things they acquired were of much value. They were both great supporters of Mr. Jenkins, an antiquary in Rome whose judgement and integrity were sometimes called in question. The antiquities that the two friends collected together were mainly gathered at the Hyde, where they were all arranged in a large hall, which was formed out of five other rooms in 1761, from a design of Sir William Chambers, who also designed Somerset House. The friezes in the hall are beautifully carved in oak by Adam, who frequently worked with Chambers. Many bronzes from Herculaneum were amongst the treasures, which also included many busts and some statues, as well as two Roman sarcophagi, one with a Bacchanalian scene, and the other with the discovery by Ulysses of Achilles among the maidens, this in high relief. These are all now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. But the choicest example of Greek art, the Bust of Athene, was retained at the Hyde and was only sold at Ingatestone in 1885, passing into the collection of Dr. Philip Nelson.

'It is in Parian marble: derived from a bronze original of the fifth century B. C. The original head has been considered to have been the work of Alcamenes, a younger associate of Pheidias 416 B. C. The goddess is represented wearing the well-known Corinthian helmet, beneath which on both sides may be seen projecting the felt cap worn to prevent the brow from being chafed.'¹

Here at the Hyde, Thomas Brand was in the habit of passing the summer season, spending much time and care in the laying

¹ *The Connoisseur*, quoted in *Essex Review*, vol. xi, p. 236.

Donald Macbeth.

THOMAS BRAND HOLLIS, ESQ., F.R.S. AND S.A., OF THE HYDE,
NEAR INGATESTONE, ESSEX
AGED 32

From a drawing taken from the life, at Rome, 1752 by — Pozzi,
in the possession of John Disney, D.D., F.S.A. Engraved, 1807,
by E. Bocquet.

out of the grounds, the planting of the trees, and the erection of a summer-house which he called the Hermitage. In 1772, 'under the sanction of legal proceedings he altered some roads which were very inconvenient to his residence'. His correspondence with Thomas Hollis contained many allusions to the charms of the place. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1756, and was also a Governor of Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, attending the meetings regularly when in town.

Thomas Brand on succeeding to his friend's property took his name, and henceforth appears as Thomas Brand Hollis. But the money so easily come by was not altogether a blessing, for the same year (1774) he was tempted to spend part of it in purchasing the seat in Parliament of Hindon, Wiltshire.

'The seat was offered him at a stipulated price, with a proposed engagement to exempt him from all concern with the conduct of the election. The contracting party did not perform the conditions of this agreement, and by such failure involved him in all the consequences of a conviction of bribery and corruption. It is not to be denied that Mr. Brand Hollis had violated the theoretical purity of a parliamentary election in the first contract; and although a great part of the House of Commons were well acquainted with, and even practised the same means of obtaining a seat in that assembly, they proceeded to severely reprehend it.'

Mr. Brand Hollis was tried at the Salisbury Assizes in 1776, found guilty, and condemned by Mr. Justice Aston to pay the King a fine of 1,000 marks and suffer six months' imprisonment in the King's Bench.

During the war with America his sympathies were entirely with the Colonists. He lived to a good old age, and though seized with an attack of apoplexy in his bookseller's shop in London, he partially recovered from the seizure, and spent his last days at the Hyde, where he passed away in 1804.¹

Thomas Brand Hollis does not appear to have married; on his death he left an annuity of £600 to his sister Elizabeth, a few legacies (amongst them one to Cambridge University, New England), and all his collections, property, and residue to his friend the Rev. Dr. Disney, then residing in Sloane

¹ Much of the above is taken from Dr. J. Disney's *Memoirs of T. B. Hollis*, 1808.

Street. The portrait of Thomas Brand Hollis is from a crayon-drawing of him as a young man, made in Rome by Pozzi on the request of his friend Thomas Hollis, and reproduced in Dr. Disney's *Memoir*.

The Disneys were a Norman family who came over with the Conqueror, deriving their name from Isingy, a barony near Bayeux, not many miles from the home of the Montfichets. They settled in Lincolnshire, in a place called after them, Norton Disney. John Disney, of Swinderby, born in 1700, was High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire; his third son, John, born September 17, 1746, was the Rev. Dr. Disney, to whom Mr. Brand Hollis left his property.

Dr. Disney was educated at Wakefield and Lincoln Grammar Schools, and later at Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was Vicar of Swinderby and Rector of Panton, Lincolnshire, 1769-82. In 1770 he took his LL.B. at Cambridge, and in 1775 a D.D. at Edinburgh. His earliest sympathies were with latitudinarianism, and he gradually dropped the Athanasian Creed, then the Nicene Creed and the Litany, and in other ways modified the Church Prayer Book. In 1782 he threw up his Church preferments and came to London, where he helped Thomas Lindsey at Essex Street Chapel, and after the latter's retirement became sole minister of the chapel, introducing an entirely new Prayer Book compiled by himself. This did not meet with the approbation of the congregation, who gave it up immediately Dr. Disney left them, which happened in 1804, when his friend Thomas Brand Hollis died, leaving his collections, the Hyde, and property worth about £5,000 a year, to Dr. Disney.

He was not any relation of Mr. Brand Hollis, and the friendship probably arose through their connexion with the Society of Antiquaries; the theological views of the men were in harmony, and Mr. Hollis had a strong sympathy for his friend, who for conscience sake had thrown up his preferments.

Dr. Disney does not seem to have been so keen an antiquarian as his predecessors at the Hyde or his own son John. He is described as a careful and exact writer, but of no great intellectual power. He wrote much controversial religious

literature and many memoirs, which included *Reasons for quitting the Church of England*, and *Memoirs* of Arthur Ashley Sykes, John Jebb, John Jortin, Law, Michael Dodson (whose residuary legatee he was), Thomas Brand Hollis, Garnham, Hopkin. In Dr. Williams's Library (now in Gordon Square, W.C.) there is a valuable collection of controversial pamphlets, arranged by Dr. Disney in fourteen volumes, occasioned by the *Confessional* of Francis Blackburne, a book which Dr. Disney had himself defended.¹

Dr. Disney married Jane, daughter of the Rev. Francis Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland; she died in 1809, and is buried in Fryerning churchyard, near the Rev. Walter Farrell's grave. Dr. Disney survived his wife seven years, and, dying in 1816, was also buried in Fryerning churchyard, but on the north side, under the large tomb, the inscriptions upon which will be found on page 210.

Dr. Disney was succeeded by his son John, who was a barrister of the Inner Temple, and, like his father, was keenly interested in classical antiquities. To Hollis and Brand's rich collection of Roman busts, statues, sarcophagi, &c., he added a series of Greek vases, and published several works on the objects that were then gathered at the Hyde. On his death in 1857 he left the collection to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, having previously founded there the Disney Professorship of Archaeology. It was a happy thought thus to secure the preservation of the valuable collection that had been gathered with such care by the three collectors—Hollis, Brand, and Disney.

There are eighty-three pieces in the collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum (including the two Roman sarcophagi), all in one room but dotted about with other antiquities.²

John Disney, jun., married his first cousin, Sophia, daughter of Lewis Disney-ffytche, of Swinderby, and later of Danbury

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, from which part of the above is taken.

² Thanks to the Director and Mr. Rider for information. Mr. John Disney published in 1846 three quarto volumes entitled *Museum Disneyanum*; one volume contains full descriptions of all the marbles, another the bronzes, and the third the vases, the author often mentioning where they were found and from whom acquired. It does not appear clearly

Place. She died in 1856, and he only survived her one year, dying in 1857. It was this 'Squire' Disney who was responsible for the destruction of the fine old mansion, Mill Green House (q.v.), and his prognostications that his son would not live at the Hyde were destined to be fulfilled.

Mr. John Disney was succeeded by his second son, Edgar, born in 1810. He married Barbara, daughter of Lewis William Brouncher, of Pelham, Dorset. He died in 1884, and is commemorated by mural tablets in the three churches of Fryerning, Ingatestone, and Blackmore, on which are emblazoned very elaborate coats-of-arms. In the latter church is also placed a tablet recording his munificence in assisting at the restoration of that church in 1877; he at that time resided at Jericho, which he had purchased. He was succeeded by his son, Colonel Edgar John Disney, who married (first) Lilies Charlotte, daughter of the Rev. Henry W. Buckley, Rector of Hartshorne, Derbyshire, whose son, Edgar Norton Disney, now holds the property and resides at the Hyde.

The very pleasing ornamental water and much of the tree-planting were made by Thomas Brand. For the probable history of the bell which hangs at the stables, see *Bells* (p. 103). The long row of stables shown in Timothy Brand's old plan has long been pulled down. The house is remarkably well built; all the floors, even of the top story, are double; solid beams of oak are found in many parts, which caused much inconvenience to the workmen when electric light was recently fitted in the house, the wood being as hard as iron to bore through.

Many portraits of the Disneys and the Brands hang in the hall and dining-room; Timothy Brand, in full-bottomed wig and crimson coat; his wife Sarah, a most engaging-looking young woman, and their still more beautiful daughter, Mrs. Sarah Grindall; Thomas Hollis is there, and a pleasant view of Corscombe, where he pursued his severe plan of life (the

whether all the vases were acquired by Mr. Disney: probably some were in the Hollis Collection. Though his opinions may not now be all accepted as correct, John Disney evidently wrote with much care and study of his subject, and was greatly aided by the careful notes that had been left by Thomas Brand Hollis.

A Map of the Estate of Timothy Brand Esq^r called Hyde.



EXPLANATIONS.

- A. The great road from London to Chelmsford.
- A. B. C. The road from Chelmsford to Hyde House. Part no longer exists.
- B. C. D. No longer exists.
- D. E. Dog Kennel Lane to Handley Barns.
- F. The road from Ingatestone to Hyde. Closed by Dr. Disney when he made the new road.
Some of the elms that bordered the road remain.
- G. The road from Hyde to Frying and Blakemore.
- H. Away to divers persons lands.

Plan of Hyde Property from an old plan, by kind permission of Norton Disney, Esq. (not a facsimile of whole plan).—Donald Salter.

farm was afterwards sold by Dr. Disney); and the doctor himself is there, with thoughtful face, and his more robust-looking wife, and many others of great family interest. There is also a large coloured plan of the Hyde property as it was in Timothy Brand's time, showing the old roads which were altered by Thomas Brand and Dr. Disney. The Hyde was then even more closely surrounded by roads than is Huskards to-day; the track of the old road leading up from the highway may be seen by the avenue of trees still remaining; it was closed in Dr. Disney's time, when the new road was made. The plan bears the names of the fields—amongst them Dog Kennel Field, near Dog Kennel Lane, which leads to Handley Barns.

In Mr. Disney's possession is this large old plan made for Timothy Brand in 1731 by William Pullen, Philomath, Chelmsford. From the photograph of it that Mr. Disney kindly allowed me to take, Mr. D. Salter has made the accompanying plan, which reproduces accurately the old roads and fields, and also carries out the Philomath's ornamentation of the border, and representation of the house and stables.

Ingatestone Hall. Without fear of contradiction, Ingatestone Hall may be called the most beautiful and most interesting house in either parish. It is still a residence—or, rather, a block of residences; and although many alterations have been made from time to time to comply with the requirements of modern domestic life, yet with its old gardens and fish stews it still retains many of the features of a sixteenth century knightly residence. It is said to have been erected by Sir William Petre in 1565, but this is perhaps a mistake. When he purchased the manor in 1539 there was no doubt an old manor-house, which Sir William greatly enlarged and altered and made the family seat, which it remained until the erection of West Thorndon Hall.¹

Most of the ancient religious establishments had manorial houses, called Granges, or farmhouses, on their estates, in

¹ F. Chancellor, *Sep. Mon. of Essex*. The rest of the notes are mainly taken from G. Buckler, *Twenty-two Churches of Essex*, p. 112.

their own occupation, from which they derived the food and wool consumed in the parent establishment. They were provided with barns, frequently large and substantial buildings. This Hall, erected in the fifteenth century, was a Grange, or summer residence, belonging to the Abbey of Barking. It was originally built in the form of a double square, had outer and inner courts, with a stately tower gateway to the main building. The gateway and most of the outer court have been destroyed. Of the inner court only three sides remain; from their dimensions some idea of the extent of the original building may be formed: what is left affords ample residences for several families. This noble example of ancient domestic architecture must have been comparatively perfect and in good condition when occupied by the Petres. It is therefore to be regretted that upon their change of residence much of its ancient grandeur should have been demolished. We gather from Morant that the scarcity of building-materials in Essex is supposed to have been the cause of the destruction of so many architectural antiquities in this county.

The plan of what remains of Ingatestone Hall resembles the lower half of the letter H; this portion always formed the principal part of the house. Of this the family and domestics occupied the right or south wing, and the guests and visitors the left or north wing; the great hall connecting them on the east. The centre portion of this transverse building is converted into a modern chapel, and the remainder of it thrown into the respective tenements on either side; the upper portion to the north of the chapel still remains a long corridor, with fragments of old glass in some of the windows.

The different arrangement of these wing-buildings and the designs of the outer façades are worthy of particular notice. On the one side the apartments are smaller, with attics or rooms in the roof; and on the other side the rooms are of more stately proportions, without the attics. The south front, exposed to the heat of the sun, is broken up by projections, which are picturesquely gabled; they give variety of form to the outline; cast deep shadows; and in summer impart an agreeable coolness to the rooms; at the same time they afford

convenient appendages, and form boudoirs for ladies, or apartments for the children. On the other hand, the north front presents a nearly unbroken line, affording greater scope for state accommodation, and the rooms open to the lawn and the garden.

A prominent feature of the building is an octagonal staircase turret in the south-east corner of the quadrangle, at the base of which an entrance door has been made. The turret, originally roofed flat and terminated with an embattled parapet, has had another story added, and is now covered with a conical roof.

When Buckler wrote in 1856, much old tapestry of the time of Queen Mary was still hanging in some of the rooms; but it has been removed of late years and taken to Thorndon Hall. Each picture was surrounded by a cinque-cento border, and occupied one side of a room. Amongst the subjects were; Noah, Moses, the worship of the Golden Calf, the Espousals of the Virgin, and the Adoration of the Magi, which he thus described: 'On the lap of the Virgin is seated the Infant Jesus, and kneeling at her feet are the Wise Men offering their gifts in a golden ciborium. A long procession of knights and attendants on richly caparisoned horses and camels crowd along the road, and at a short distance from the cave, in which the Virgin is seated, adjoining the highway, is a picturesque water-mill and cottage with thatched roofs; one of the gables is brick-built and stepped, to agree in character with the Hall itself.' One room in the Priest's occupation still retains its tapestry, which represents our Lord before Annas or Caiaphas.

It was in one of the projections on the south front of this portion of the venerable Hall that a Priest's 'hiding-place' was accidentally discovered in the autumn of 1855. The entrance to this secret chamber is from a small room, attached to what was probably the host's bedroom, on the middle floor. In the south-east corner the floor-boards were found to be decayed; upon their removal another layer of loose boards was observed to cover a hole or trap about two feet square. A ladder, perhaps two centuries old, remained be-

neath. The existence of this secret asylum must have been familiar to the heads of the family for several generations; indeed, evidence of this is afforded by a packing-case directed 'for the Right Hon^{ble}., the Lady Petre, at Ingatestall Hall in Essex'; the wood is much decayed, and the style of the writing firm and antiquated. The 'hiding-place' measures fourteen feet in length, two feet one inch in width, and ten feet in height. Its floor-level is the natural ground-line; the floor is spread with nine inches of remarkably dry sand, so as to exclude damp or moisture. A cursory examination of the sand brought to light a few bones, small enough to be those of a bird; and in all probability the remains of food supplied to some unfortunate occupant during confinement. The state of the law rendered these hiding-places necessary, for late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth centuries the celebration of Mass in this country was strictly forbidden. It was illegal to use the chapel; the Priest therefore celebrated Mass secretly in a chamber, opening from which was a hiding-place to which he could retreat in time of danger; and where also the vestments, altar furniture, missal, crucifix, and sacred vessels were kept in a trunk. The trunk or chest remained in this instance, and was an interesting relic to discover. It measured four feet two and a half inches in length, one foot seven inches in width, and one foot ten and a half inches in height to the top of the arched lid. The wood appeared to be yew, three quarters of an inch thick, very carefully put together, lined with strong linen, covered with leather, and bound with iron. There were two hasped locks, each riveted on by three long staples made ornamental by chisel cuts on the face; a projecting rib formed like a letter S encircles the key-holes; and there is a third means of fastening, in the centre, adapted for a padlock. At the ends are long thin handles in quaint character like the rest.¹ The chest is now preserved in the muniment room at Thorndon.

Of the outer court there remains a residence occupied by

¹ All the above is practically taken verbatim from Buckler. The floor is now (1913) nailed down again, as the tenant complained of the dust that came from the hiding-place.

INGATESTONE HALL, FACING THE LIME WALK

Mr. Lyon, and part of the stables, with a clock-turret over the archway.

Miss Braddon laid the scene of her thrilling novel, *Lady Audley's Secret*, at Ingatestone Hall. Her description of Audley Court is, in the main, a correct description of the Hall, though she is in error in stating that the place had at one time been a convent. Miss Braddon stayed in the vicinity whilst writing the book, and reproduces in it a very good picture of the neighbourhood. Perhaps the scene in the lime-walk was suggested to Miss Braddon by the story of William H. F., eleventh Baron Petre, and his wonderful escape from a tragic death under that same avenue.

Many were the distinguished visitors who stayed here in old days, amongst them Queen Mary, in 1553, on her way to claim her crown in London.

'The Queen next proceeded to the seat of Sir William Petre at Ingatestone, where the Council who had lately defied and denied her, were presented to her for the purpose of kissing her hand. Cecil kissed the royal hand before any other of the Councilmen.'

A gala day perhaps for the Hall, but one that must have caused much searching of heart and trepidation to her host and his friends. Some eight years later, Mary's sad life ended, her more cheerful sister Elizabeth came here on her summer progress through Essex and Suffolk. Elizabeth

'arrived July 19th, 1561, at Ingatestone the seat of Sir William Petre. She had had the wisdom as well as the magnanimity to overlook his former inimical proceedings in the times of her adversity. She remained at his house two days, and then passed on to Newhall, where Henry VIII had oftentimes visited and wooed her ill-fated mother during the fervour of his passion.'

The Hall was long regarded as the Dower House, but the last Dowager Lady Petre to reside here was Mary, widow of the eighth baron, and daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. She died in January, 1760, and was buried in the vault in Ingatestone Church, where her father already lay.

Some of the Hall's inhabitants have been spoken of at length elsewhere, and the names of many others will be found in the

¹ A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, vol. iii, p. 438, vol. iv, p. 201. Sir W. Petre's alterations were not completed until 1565.

Registers. Happily, the days of persecution are over, and neither Romanist nor Protestant needs the secret hiding-place any more. For many years Mr. F. Coverdale has lived in one wing, the Priest has rooms in the centre, and the other wing is divided into tenements, which various families have occupied during the past few years. At the present time Mr. Bingham and the Misses Havers live in the old place, and Mr. Lyon at the farm.

Under the shelter of these old walls one of our very few literary inhabitants received his early training. Duffield William Augustine Coller was born at Ingatestone on the 26th of February, 1805. 'His godmother, a Roman Catholic refugee nun, Sister Duffield, living at Ingatestone Hall, took considerable interest in young Coller, her intention being to have him educated for a priest.' Here in the days of his youth he received an excellent classical education from good Father John Clarkson, but Sister Duffield's death interfered with the boy's prospects, or perhaps he had no desire himself for the priesthood; in any case he was apprenticed to a tailor in the village. So uncongenial proved this occupation that he ran away. In 1821 he was again apprenticed, this time for three years, to a shoemaker at Rayleigh, but again he broke his bonds. From his earliest days his inclination was for literary pursuits, and whilst tailoring at Ingatestone he had often sent short poems to the local papers, some of which were printed—'June', 'The age of Tutors', 'Vagrants'. In 1827 he was taken on to the staff of the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, then run by George Meggy and Thomas Chalk, and he continued with them till 1869. Once in their office he insisted upon being apprenticed, and went through the whole routine of the office, at the same time contributing to the journal.

In 1858 he commenced the issue of a popular history of Essex, brought out in thirty-nine monthly parts, price three-pence. Calling it *The People's History of Essex*, he says in his preface: 'The aim has been . . . to convey to the Essex reader an idea of the interesting and hoary memories that cling to the soil on which he lives, and the part which his country has taken in the events, triumphs, and struggles of

INGATESTONE HALL BARN

the past.' The book was quite a success in the county, but is not very widely known, and is, I believe, now out of print. Before the days of bicycles he explored the whole county in search of correct and recent information about the parishes. 'The volume is trustworthy and useful, containing a certain amount of information not to be found in the older histories.'

Besides his journalistic work and his *History*, Collier wrote many articles in local magazines. In his later years he was editor of the *Essex Weekly News*. He was twice married, first to a daughter of Mr. Turnedge, builder, of Ingatestone; she is buried in Fryerning churchyard. His second wife was a daughter of Sam. Akerman, a London solicitor. He passed away on the 18th of May, 1884, in his house in the new London Road, Chelmsford. I will end with three verses of an early poem, 'Magnetism of a Newspaper':

Hold—there's no magic in the case;
Newspapers are a looking-glass,
Where ev'ryone can see their face,
And their beloved subject pass.

The tender virgin tasks her brains,
To learn what lady of sixteen
Is bound in Hymen's golden chains,
By stolen 'trip to Gretna Green'.

The widow—she whose youthful bloom
Some twenty years ago was shed,
Leaves weeping o'er her husband's tomb,
'To see what neighbour's wife is dead.'¹

As we leave the Hall, the beautiful old Barn with its glorious red bricks must not pass unnoticed, within whose shelter many little infants first saw the light, and where memory still lingers of the weary travellers who rested there in the old days; some of them only to make one more short journey, and that to the churchyard. (See *Registers*, Part II, Chap. XI, and *Road*, Part III.)

Ingatestone Rectory. Alas, within the last few years this old and convenient house and garden adjoining the churchyard have ceased to belong to the Rector. To the lasting regret of

¹ Further notice of Mr. Collier will be found in Mr. E. A. Fitch's article in the *Essex Review*, vol. ix, from which the above is taken.

by far the greater number of inhabitants the Bishop's Commission gave consent for it to be sold, and a new house to be erected just outside the village and parish. The old Rectory has since been much enlarged and altered by Mr. C. Sidgwick. Here is the description of it in the terrier of 1610 :

‘ A Dwelling House, with a Hall, a Parlour, and a Chamber within it, a Study newly built by the then Parson [Nicolas Cliffe], a Chamber over the Parlour, and another within that, with a Closet ; without the Dwelling-House a Kitchen and two little Rooms adjoining to it, and a chamber over them ; two little Butteries, over against the Hall, and next them a Chamber, and one other chamber over the same ; without the Kitchen there is a Dove House, and another House built by the then Parson, a Barn and a Stable very ruinous. Besides the Courts, there is a Back Side, and a little Herb-Garden, and the Churchyard for which the old Parson [Antony Brasier] took Rent of those against whose House the same lieth. There is no other Glebe belonging to this Parsonage.’

In that new study Rector Willis prepared his sermons, and in the little herb-garden dear old John Ewer cultivated his flowers, and perhaps the ‘great rain’ he noted in the register may have spoilt some favourite plant ; in the hall Thomas Ralph received that parcel containing the munificent anonymous gift of church plate, and here Rector Pierce Lloyd arranged the advertisement to certify Daniel Sutton's inoculation treatment to be no danger to travellers through the little town. Never more——

But we are grateful that the old house, now so much altered, is occupied by such good friends to the church, and constantly Mrs. Sidgwick brings flowers from the old Rectory garden to adorn the altar.

Lightoaks. This was built for Mrs. Du Cane about 1882, by Mr. Sherrin, who was architect of so many houses in the parish. It is on the site of part of the pleasure-grounds of Old Mill Green House, and the paths and boundary walls of the ancient mansion are sometimes met with when digging in different parts of the garden.

The Limes. This will be found mentioned under New Inn. For many years it has been occupied by doctors—at the present time by Dr. Ransford.

Little St. Leonards. This is now occupied as two cottages. In Chapman and André's Map (1774) it is marked as 'Leonards'. The rooms are spacious, and it would seem to have been a small farmhouse in old days. Traces of old buildings are sometimes found in the adjacent ground, and also at a little distance away, in the arable field on the opposite side of the road—so Mr. Rankin tells me, who now farms the field.

Lyndsays. This house was much altered in 1900, when the great central chimney-stack was removed and much timber inserted in the front. It is an old house, and is probably called after the Linseys who appear in the register in 1636. It is owned and occupied by Mr. Nichols.

Maisonnette. This was until recent years quite a small house. Its name suggests that it may at some time have been a shelter for the poor, or for travellers in connexion with the convent of the Abbey of Barking, for the Grange—which is opposite—was probably one of the houses for the Abbey's local steward, Maisonnette being a recognized alteration of 'Maison-Dieu', a name frequently given to houses of refuge. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was bought by Daniel Sutton, who resided there for a while; it afterwards came into the hands of his daughter, Mrs. Campbell, and has since been sold by her descendants. It is now occupied by Mr. Rose, and formerly by Mr. Le Sage.

Mill Green House. This house is partly formed out of the stables of Old Mill Green House, which lay a little to the north of the present house. The grand cedar-tree in the garden must be a relic of the old days. Under it was found a James II copper crown, issued when he invaded Ireland, promising to pay its value in silver when he regained the crown. The house is now owned by Mr. E. H. Robinson.

Old Mill Green House. For many hundred years a house existed here. The first mention I can find of it is in the State Papers of 1653, when it was reported to the Commissioners for Compounding that the reason that Mary, Lady Petre, was

allowed to have it at so low a rental, only £18 a year, was 'that the house was out of repair'. The estate then was reported as being forty-five acres—which was apparently sublet, Lady Petre 'still retaining the mansion house'. There is no mention of the house in the registers, and it does not appear whether the old lady died here, though it is probable she did. The house must have undergone many alterations before it was pulled down in 1844, and must have been a fine and convenient family mansion; for it is still spoken of enthusiastically by the few old people who can remember it as 'a far better-looking house than the Hyde'. After much search and inquiry I have been fortunate enough to find a curious old sand-picture of it in the possession of Mr. Clift, who kindly allows me to reproduce it. The round pigeon-cote at the side is well remembered by him.

The grounds were large, spacious, and well timbered. Besides the fine old cedar-tree in Mr. Robinson's garden, there are two grand old yews just beyond Mrs. Du Cane's boundary, which must have been in the pleasure-grounds attached; and the place was not wanting in the fish-ponds which were so constant a feature in all really old houses; traces of them are still found in the fields close by. On the road opposite the Mill the grounds were enclosed by a high brick wall, the mortar of which proved to be as hard as the bricks when the wall was pulled down. Traces of its foundation and of the garden paths are sometimes found by Mrs. Du Cane in her grounds. The wall did not come close up to the road, but lay back some little way, and the space was occupied by an avenue of lime-trees entirely open to the public. When the wall was removed, Mr. Disney got permission to enclose this piece of ground and cut down the limes, planting a hedge close up to the road—one more of our open bits gone for ever. The cutting down of the trees caused some unpleasantness with Lord Petre, who claimed them as his.

Why the house was pulled down by Mr. Disney meets with several answers, and as it all happened so long ago the family will forgive my recording what the old folk say, and what the younger folk say the old folk said. First, that Squire Disney

Old Mill Green House
From an old sand picture in the possession of Mr. Clift.

was afraid that after his own death his son would live there in preference to the Hyde. So he pulled it down. Secondly, that the young man lived in it, and wouldn't come out when his father ordered him to. So he pulled it down. Thirdly, that the son and his wife wouldn't live in it when the old man wished them to. So he pulled it down. Fourthly, that Mr. Atwood, of Hylands, could just see the chimneys of Mill Green House from his own grounds, and paid Squire Disney to pull it down. Mr. Atwood was undoubtedly responsible for the destruction of Coptfold Hall and many small farms and houses between Margaretting and Hylands, for he was bent upon having no house within view of his own. There seems a general agreement that there was some family tiff; and whichever of the versions, if any, may be correct, the fact is certain—he pulled it down. The bricks were sold to the Eastern Counties Railway Company, and were used for building the big railway bridge near Brentwood.

It is curious that the house should never be mentioned in the register of either parish until 1819, when Mrs. Juliana Kortright is described as of Mill Green House, therefore I cannot trace with certainty many of the owners. But Muilman in his *History* (published 1770) says: 'There is likewise a large ancient house upon mill-green, formerly in the possession of — Clutterbuck,¹ Esq., but now of Miss Hotham, sister to the late Sir Charles Hotham, bart.' This — Clutterbuck, Esq., may well be the one we find in the Ingatestone baptism register :

1697. July. Thomas posthumous son of Thomas Clutterbuck Esquire and the Lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.

This Lady Bridget was the only daughter of Sir Thomas Exton, a learned lawyer in the days of Charles II, who was at one time Judge of the Admiralty Court, and in his later years Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Bridget Exton married —first Sir John Sudbury, secondly Thomas Clutterbuck, lastly Edward Carteret, and as she had children by all three

¹ He was probably Thomas Clutterbuck, of the King's Stanley (Gloucestershire) family, who died of small-pox in London in 1697. See Clutterbuck, *Hertfordshire*, vol. iii, p. 301.

husbands baptized here it seems probable that she spent much of her married life at Mill Green House, coming there as a young bride shortly after the death of old Lady Petre, and bringing the other husbands in succession to enjoy the charms of the old mansion.

Her first husband, Sir John Sudbury, was the first baronet created by James II. The baronetage died with him, as he left no male issue, but only one daughter, Anne, whose baptism appears in our register :

1688. Anne, daughter of Sir John Sudbury and Bridget his wife. He was nephew to the Dean of Durham, whose property he had inherited. Sir John in his will left his estate to his wife for life, and on her death to his daughter, and failing issue to Anne it was to go to his sister, Elizabeth Tempest, to whom he also left his diamond ring and gold watch. He also left £5 to Mr. Reeve, whom he describes as 'Rector of Ingatestone', though Mr. Reeve was only curate. Sir John Sudbury died in the spring of 1691, and his only child Anne a few months later, and both were buried in the chancel of St. Andrews, Hornchurch, where the following inscription to their memory still remains on the floor :

*Dr Joh^{es} Sudbury / de Ingatestone in cōm. Essex Bart^{us} / obiit
27 Martii 1691 / Anno ætat 31, et / Sub hoc marmore jacet / Duxit
in uxorem & post se reliquit / Bridgettam / Filiam unicam Dñi.
Thomæ Exton / M^{tis} et Legum D^{ris} / Ex qua suscepit Annam /
unicam prolem / Quæ quidem Anna / 10 Sept. 1691 / satis etiam
cessit / & hic sepulta est / etat 3 an./*

Dame Bridget's second husband, Thomas Clutterbuck, was one of the Six Clerks of the High Court of Chancery, a lucrative and not overworked post, now abolished. The manor of Herberges in Rochford belonged to him, but was sold after his death.¹ He had property also in Kent, but was buried in London in the family vault in St. Pancras, Soper Lane. Their married life was short, for Thomas Clutterbuck was dead before the birth of his son, whose christening is entered in the Ingatestone register.

Very shortly afterwards the widow married again, for two

¹ Wright, vol. ii, p. 596. Wright is in error on p. 432, confusing father and son ; so also Morant, vol. i, p. 63.

years later comes the christening of a child by her third husband. The ruthless hand of death had deprived her of two husbands, but for a long time she declined to be deprived of her title, and it is amusing to see from the register how very gradually she allowed it to be dropped.

1699. Bridget, dau. of Edward Cartaret, Esq., and the Lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.

Later it becomes :

1704. Isabella, dau. of Edward Cartaret, Esq., and Dame Bridget his wife.

And in 1706 it is simply :

1706. Philip, son of Edward Cartaret, Esq., and Bridget his wife.

Dame Cartaret did not reside here to the end of her life, for on her death, in the summer of 1758, she is described as of Dagenham. Probably Mill Green House was settled on her male issue; and upon her son, Thomas Clutterbuck, either coming of age, or marrying, she gave up the house to him, and lived at Edward Carteret's mansion at Havering. Morant (vol. i, p. 62) describes Edward Carteret as uncle of the late Earl Granville, and one of the Postmasters-General, and states that the Manor of Dagenham was given to him by the great heiress Anne Wright, who married Edmund Pye, but gives no reason for the gift. Edward Carteret died on the 15th of April, 1739 (1759?), and Dame Bridget in 1758. See p. 213.

Thomas, the son of Bridget and Thomas Clutterbuck, was Treasurer to the Navy, and married Henrietta, the daughter of Lord Huntingtower, and it was probably through the influence of her half-brother, or of her sister-in-law, that Bridget Carteret, whom we have seen baptized at Ingatestone, was appointed maid of honour to that most excellent Queen-Consort, Caroline of Anspach. Mrs. Bridget Carteret lived to the great age of ninety-two, dying on the 27th of May, 1792; her sister Isabella, who had married Admiral Cavendish, only surviving her to the following July. The two daughters had sold Dagenham in 1748(?), to H. Muilman. They are both buried at Hornchurch, as is also Thomas Clutterbuck, jun., as a stone in the chancel records :

In a Vault underneath this Stone / lies interred the body of the / Right Honorable Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq., Treasurer of the Navey / in the reign of King George the second / He married Henrietta Daughter of the late / Right Honorable Lord Huntingtower, and sister / to the present Right Honorable Earl of Dysart / by whom he left three daughters / Harriot, Claranna, and Charlot. / He dyed the 23^d day of November 1742 / in the 46 year of his age.

It was Thomas Clutterbuck's second daughter, Clara Anne, who married Sir Charles Hotham on the 31st of October, 1757. The Hothams were descended from John de Trehouse, Lord of Kilkenny, Ireland, and for good services at the battle of Hastings had a grant made them of Colley Weston in Northants and Hotham in Yorkshire. For many years they had been knights, and in 1621 the then Sir John, Kt., was created baronet by James I. The family were very rich, and the father of our Sir Charles Hotham married Gertrude, daughter of Philip, third Earl of Chesterfield, and sister of the celebrated fourth Earl.¹ On the decease of this Sir Charles in 1737 he was succeeded by his only son Charles, Groom of the Bedchamber to George III.² In 1757 young Charles was married to Clara Anne Clutterbuck, in Fryerning Church, by Rector Pierce Lloyd, of Ingatestone. The bride was described in the register as of the parish of St. James, Westminster; and it is rather curious that the two witnesses were both the sisters of the bridegroom—Gertrude Hotham, Melusina Hotham; the younger Miss Hotham being evidently called after the wife of her uncle, the great Earl. No long married life at Mill Green House was in store for Clara Anne: two years after her marriage she died, in 1759, leaving her husband in possession of the old house; eight years later he also died (October, 1767), and Muilman, writing in 1770, describes the house as in possession of Gertrude Hotham. Sir Charles left no children, and was succeeded in the title by his uncle, Sir Beaumont. The house was afterwards in the occupation of Mrs. Juliana Kortright, who died there in 1819, aged fifty, and its last tenant was 'Squire' Charles Thomas Holcomb, at

¹ Author of the well-known *Letters*.

² Betham, *Baronetage*, i. 243.

R. M.

ST. I. LEONARDS

the end of whose tenancy it was demolished by its owner, Mr. John Disney.

Mill Hurst. A new house, built by Mr. Sherrin for Mr. J. Goulden, who occupies it, and has also recently purchased the picturesque windmill which adjoins. This may have been the mill mentioned in the registers as Mr. Dearman's.

Mill Green Park. This house was built in the last century. It was first a mere cottage built by Mr. Grant, then of Thoby, and was called Mill Green Cottage¹; later it was bought by Mr. Sheffield Neave and very greatly enlarged. The park was formerly five plough-fields.

St. Leonards. The present house was built early in the nineteenth century by Mr. William Coesvelt. For possible earlier habitations on the site see p. 38. In Chapman and André's map, 1774, 'Brick House' is marked as standing where St. Leonards now is, and the present Little St. Leonards (adjoining the Tiles) is marked 'Leonards'. A few traces of the old building still remain, e.g. some of the lower brickwork near the front door. When Mr. Coesvelt built St. Leonards he also had the lake made that lies in the park below the house. Previously there had been a deep pond near the site of the present lodge, partly filled by the overflow of the Furze Hall pond. From this pond ice was taken in the winter and stored in the ice-house, which still remains. But one winter, two men (brothers Ramm?) were drowned in getting the ice, and Mr. Coesvelt had the pond filled up. The water now runs in a very deep channel through the shrubbery. The new lake was made by Mr. Forman, of Galleywood, a noted road and pond-maker—father of Mr. Forman, afterwards at Wood Barns.

Mr. Coesvelt was a Dutchman and a man of artistic tastes. Many of his sketches still remain, and he published a series of them, which is still to be met with in the catalogues of second-hand booksellers.

Mr. Coesvelt was not only a painter, but also a collector of pictures, and about 1815 bought for £6,000 a large gallery of

¹ 'Charles Grant, gent., Mill Green Cotg.' W. White's *Essex Gazetteer*, 1848.

old masters, that had been collected on the Continent during the Napoleonic wars by Sir George Bowyer, of Radley, Berks. All the pictures may not have been genuine, though they had been selected with care by their owners. Sixteen were sold at Christie's in 1837, when Mr. Coesvelt appears to have left England. A large and illustrated catalogue was issued in English and French, but £409 for a Titian and £162 for a Giorgione do not sound high prices compared with modern figures. The former was the Rape of Proserpine (with four white horses), which had come from the Orleans Gallery; the Giorgione was the head of the Duke of Salerno as a herdsman,¹ and had been purchased in Madrid. Most of the great painters were said to be represented in the collection, and some of the pictures still remain in the possession of Mr. W. Kortright. Most of the pictures were in Mr. Coesvelt's gallery in Carlton Gardens; very few can have been here. His large collection of drawings by the old masters was sold by Christie in April, 1846.

Like Mr. Brand, the owner of the Hyde, Mr. Coesvelt was often in Italy, and the bas-relief of Psyche, over the mantel-piece of the library in St. Leonards, was brought by him from that country. He also sent over to Ingatestone a quantity of fragments of coloured marbles, but his interest in the place had waned ere they arrived, and they were made no use of; they are now scattered in various cottage gardens and other places. The latter part of his life Mr. Coesvelt spent mainly in Rome and in Florence, where he occupied for some years the Palazzo Spinelli, Via Ghibellini, and had there a collection of antiques: these were dispersed at his death, which occurred in Rome on the 8th of March, 1844, at the age of seventy-eight. He is buried in the Protestant Cemetery, near Monte Testaccio. His only son, William Gordon Coesvelt, had predeceased him at Montpelier in 1839, and the property was therefore left to his daughter, Sarah E.G., who married Captain William Kortright.

¹ Now at 'Bowood, seat of Lord Lansdowne. On a card behind the canvas: "This picture was given by Charles III (Naples, 1734) to his son Don Gabriel before leaving Naples. Purchased in Madrid by Mr. Coesveldt". Crowe and Caval, *Painting in N. Italy*, vol. iii, p. 49 (1912).

Mr. Kortright was descended from Cornelius Hendrickson Kortright, at one time of Hylands, and of Danish birth, who held large estates in the West Indies. Later he resided at Maissonette; he died at Cheltenham in 1818 at the age of fifty-four, and is buried in Fryerning churchyard. His widow, Juliana, died at Mill Green House the following year, aged fifty.

His son, William Kortright, who married Miss Coesvelt, was a captain in the Coldstream Guards. He bought property in the neighbourhood, Furze Hall and Green Street Farm, and planted the Round Plantation that lies between St. Leonards and Green Street. He lived at St. Leonards until his death in 1866. His son Augustus lived there for a short time after his father's death and then moved to Furze Hall. Mr. A. Kortright married Mary, daughter of the Rev. J. Mounteney Jephson, who was descended from the old family of Mounteney, from whom the parish of Mountnessing takes its name. The Fryerning property is now divided amongst the family, Mr. William Mounteney Kortright, the eldest son, residing at the Hut. St. Leonards is occupied by Mr. Robert Miller.

St. Leonards Farm. This house was built by Mr. A. Kortright about 1880. The old residence stood a little farther down the yard, and being partly in Fryerning, partly in Ingatestone, the farmer could lie with his head in one parish and his heels in the other. On Chapman and André's map (1774) 'Gang Barns' is marked in large type on this spot. Mr. George Osborn.

Spilfeathers. This is the first house named in the Ingatestone register, where it is entered: '1595. ultimo die Februarii sepultus fuit Joh^{es} Silvester de Spilfeathers.' There were many Silvesters here at that period, and some note to distinguish them was desirable. Before coming across this entry I had been told that the Woolpack (q. v.) was originally at Spilfeathers, and that after the name and business had been transferred to the present inn, the old house was occupied by a higgler who collected poultry-feathers, and hence its name; but this story can hardly be correct, as the old name goes back

so far. It would seem to be more likely that if there were an inn here, it was over the way, at the better-built Adkins. But the name of Spilfeathers may well have come from some far-back owner whose trade was feathers, and the making of feather-beds. It is an old house, and a good many years ago was used as two cottages. The room used at one time as a drawing-room, with its fine old timber, was a cow-house in ancient days. It has been greatly altered by recent occupants, and at one time was the residence of Mr. Thomas, harpist to Queen Victoria. Its present owner is Mr. Lewis Way. *See Appendix I.*

Stock Lane, old Cottages. These old houses close to the railway bridge are the sole survivors of the ancient almshouses. The Eastern Counties Railway planned its line to run through the almshouse buildings and took the chapel and several of the dwellings, leaving these old tenements high and dry above the cutting. The old inmates have long moved elsewhere.

The Tiles. This house was built about 1870 by Mr. Sherrin for Miss Kortright, and was the first of the many buildings he erected in the neighbourhood. The old footpath from Green Street to Beggar Hill, which came out by Little St. Leonards, was at that time diverted, and now emerges into the Fryerning road rather farther to the east. Miss Kortright died shortly after the house was built. It still belongs to the family, and is occupied by Mrs. and Miss Kortright.

Trueloves. Very little of the old house remains. It had undergone very many alterations under different owners since it was in the occupation of Mr. Augustine Petre, of whom Rector Ewer makes so disparaging a remark in 1676. After his death it was occupied by Mr. Thomas Sandford, by Mr. J. Crush, and later by Mr. Samuel Reeve. Within recent years it was practically pulled down and rebuilt by Mr. Quick, a successful coffee-planter, who diverted the road which originally ran close to the house. I have been told that the picturesque name was given it in days long gone by because the trees were all planted in pairs—true-loves. Mrs. Quick is still remembered by the little endowed Infant School in the

village, built by her husband to her memory. She was an early enthusiast for education, and during her lifetime started and supported a little Infant School in Ingatestone. There is a legend that Trueloves is connected by an underground passage with Thoby Priory, but all trace of it is lost. After Mr. Quick's departure it was owned and occupied by Mr. Caldicot, Mr. and Mrs. Carr, and at present by Captain Wigan.

Wellmead. This house in Fryerning Lane was built by Mr. Archibald Christy about 1900 for his own occupation. It commands a striking view over the valley. It was in the vicinity of this house that the bricks were probably made of which Fryerning Church tower is built.

Wood Barns. A most picturesque old red-brick house on the Blackmore road. Being in Ingatestone it is curious that it is never mentioned in the registers. The farm was acquired by Sir William Petre from the Smiths of Blackmore, to whom it had been given by Henry VIII (Morant, vol. ii, p. 47). In the early part of the nineteenth century it was occupied by Mr. Windley, and afterwards by his son-in-law, Stephen Forman, and of late years by Mr. Wyllie. It contains several excellent rooms and a good staircase, besides the old chimney-stack.

The following houses, not mentioned at length elsewhere, have mostly some trace of antiquity, and some are mentioned in the Ingatestone register; I give the names found therein:

Daws. William Bird, John Harris. The family name of Dawes occurs in the books. In Richard II's reign it appears on the Fryerning Court Roll as Le Dores.

Handley Barn. Shuttleworth (1626), E. Stoakes, Th. Shuttleworth.

Little, or Lower, or Further Hide, possibly Hide Green. John Smith, Adam Eve, Denis and Lydia Vinton, Ed. and Sam. Vines, Rich. Dirkman, G. Marden.

Upper Hide. Henry Finch.

Potter's Row. This picturesque old farmhouse and cottage still remain on Mill Green. 1677, Shuttleworth; 1700, Ed. Loveday.

Slab Cottage, Mill Green. This cottage is said to be over three hundred years old, and is built—like Greenstead Church—of solid tree trunks, split in half.

Tile Kilns and Linborows. These, I believe, were on Mill Green. Rich, Marcal, Thomas Marskal.

Ray Farm. A picturesque old house, but not mentioned in the registers.

Wells and Sheds. The latter name is probably after an owner, as Shed appears as a family name in the register.

Sparrow Hall. This little old farmhouse, standing above Bag Lane, was pulled down about thirty years ago, and cottages built in its place, which are sometimes called Cornish's. This latter may be a very old name, as a Cornish is in the Ship-money List, 1637.

Many of the cottages are old, both in the village and about the country. On altering those on Mill Green, Mr. Stewart reports that he has often found Roman bricks beneath, and occasionally Elizabethan coins.

Brook Cottages, Green Street, are also very old; the double cottage near the Hut was rebuilt by Charles Hornby about 1730.

Brook Cottages in the street are said to be the oldest in the village; they are near the Bell Inn, and bits of old carving and beams are not unfrequently found in them. Here was also the **Ingatestone Workhouse**, where the poor people were housed before the days of the union of several parishes with one central House of Refuge (1836–1847). The **Fryerning Poorhouse** was a few yards off the main street, in Fryerning Lane.

Under the floor of one old house at the corner of the market-place, was found a copy of an old controversial Roman Catholic book of the seventeenth century, in good preservation, evidently concealed in the days of persecution.

The following are the principal newer houses not mentioned in detail. **Nithsdale.** I am told that this was once an inn, but cannot say when or what. **Dockland** does not appear in the register and may not be of much age (Lt.-Col. Wilding Wood). On the main road south of the village is **Tor Bryan** (Mr.

Sebastian Petre); and nearly opposite is the **Chase**, occupied by Mr. Halls. This latter may take its name from an old Roman track that appears to have run close by. Several houses in Station Lane, amongst them **Red House**, occupied for many years by Mr. E. Rock and his family; Miss Dorothy and Miss Madeline Rock are well known for their enthusiastic efforts in the cause of votes for women. The greater number of the new houses were built by Mr. Sherrin, but the new **Ingatestone Rectory** is the work of Mr. Wykeham Chancellor. **Redcote**. Built about twenty-six years ago (Mr. D. Wother-spoon). **Elmfield**. A new house near Docklands (Mr. Raven). **Hill House** (Mr. Tyler) and **The Bays** (Mr. G. P. Smith) older houses near Fryerning Church. **The Manse** (Rev. L. Sellars) is attached to the Congregational Chapel. A modern house, **The Chantry**, is said to take its name from some old religious foundation there, but I have failed to verify the statement. The **Gate House** by the station was built and formerly occupied by Mr. Sherrin, the well-known architect.

CHAPTER XXI

INNS AND TRADE TOKENS

FOR countless generations our road has been a highway for traffic, and such traffic calls for inns. At first they would be humble buildings, with a long projecting pole above the door, which displayed afar off its bunch of branches, announcing the presence of the alehouse to the traveller. Beer was made by all householders as well as by the innkeepers, but the tavern was a place of resort for the natives quite as much as for travellers. The *Vision of Piers Plowman* gives a lively description of one where Tom the tinker, Hicke the driver, and Hugh the needle-seller sit drinking with a hermit and the church clerk, and porters and pick-purses.

There was laughing and lowering, and 'let go the cup'.
They sat so till evensong, and sung now and then,
Till Glutton had gulped down a gallon and a gill.

John Skelton, tutor to Henry VIII, and himself a Norfolk man, gives an even more graphic description in *Elynour Rummynge*, a tale of an alehouse wife, how the folk came to drink, and how they paid her :

She breweth nopy ale
And maketh thereof port sale
To travellers, tynkers,
To sweters, to swynkers,
And all good ale drinkers.

Instead of coyne and money
Some bring her a conny,
And some a pot with honny,
Some a salt, and some a spone,
Some their hose, and some theyr shone.

Amongst the women customers is Margery Mylkeducke :

Her kyrtell she did uptucke
An ynch above her knee,
Her legges that you might see.

And yet she brought her fees.
 A cantell of Essex cheese
 Was well a fote thycke,
 Full of maggotes quycke,
 It was huge and greate:
 And myghty stronge meate
 For the devil to eate,
 It was tart and pungete.¹

A very interesting glimpse it gives us of the payment in kind and not coin that was still prevalent in early Tudor days; and it also recalls the lost trade in Essex cheese that was so important in old days, though we hope that not all of it was so savoury as that brought by Margery Milkeducke.

In early days hospitality was always expected and received by the well-to-do travellers at the large houses that they passed; but as their number increased the demand made on the gentry was too heavy, and the inns gradually improved themselves as they became more frequented by the rich. The following extract from the Statute of Eltham, containing directions for the Household of Henry VIII, gives a curious peep into the manners of those travellers:

‘His Highness’s attendants are not to steal any locks or keys, tables, forms, cupboards, or other furniture out of Noblemen’s or gentlemen’s houses where he goes to visit.

Dinners to be at ten, suppers at four. The officers of his Privy Chamber shall be loving together, no grudging or grumbling, or talking of the King’s past-time.’

(Was this direction obeyed when he came to our neighbourhood with Anne Boleyn at Boreham, and Lady Talbois at Blackmore?)

‘There shall be no romping with the maids on the staircase, by which dishes and other things are often broken.

Care shall be taken of the pewter spoons, and that the wooden ones used in the kitchen be not broken or stolen.’

John Taylor, in his *Tavernes* (1636), says, ‘*Ingarstone*, a good Towne for Market, and excellent neate entertainment for Travellers, it has these Tavernes—Agnes White—John Bond.’ Which of our inns they presided over he does not say.

¹ Dyce’s edition, vol. i, p. 109.

The preface to his tiny guide thus describes the innkeepers and their minions :

‘To all the good Fellowes in generall and particular that do keep, inhabit, allow, or maintaine the Wine Tavernes or Inne Tavernes in the ten Shires [Essex amongst them]. Mine Hosts, I hope I am not much mistaken in calling you Gentlemen, or kind Friends, you onely are the men that do truly merit the name and title of Mine Hosts, for alas our City Tavernes have no other Entertainment but “Welcome Gentlemen—a Crust and what Wine will you drink?” but you brave minded and most jovial Sardanapalitans have power and prerogative to receive, lodge, feast, and feed both man and beast. You have the happiness to Boile, Roast, Broile, and Bake, Fish, Flesh, and Fowle. Most of your customers come riding to your houses, where almost all our guests [i. e. in the City] are footmen.’

Then he proceeds to complain at much length, how, when he leaves the country inn, the Host, the Drawer, the Chamberlain, the Tapster, the Hostler, all look for payment.

In the Stuart days the inns were well-found houses of sufficient importance to issue their own brass coinage, and by the eighteenth century they were amply supplied with excellent sleeping accommodation, as is shown by the large bedrooms still remaining in some of the inns, with their oak floors and great beams. Fuller details of the traffic that came to the inns will be found in the Road Chapters.

It is almost impossible for us to picture our inns as they were before the coming of the railway. Fifty-two coaches passed through every day, changing horses, dining or supping their passengers, arranging for the village blacksmith to keep his smithy open till the last coach had gone through at eleven p.m. Countless post-chaises were always passing, with horses to bait and travellers calling at all hours for food and drink. Besides the well-to-do frequenting the inn parlours, there were the carriers and drovers, all needing refreshment for themselves or their beasts. Postilions always had to be ready at a moment's notice, and horses baited and ready in the stable. Some of the older inhabitants can just recall those palmy days as a vision of their childhood, and they shake their heads as they remember the disaster that befell the village when the railway drew the traffic from the road and left the inns stranded, with no longer any occupation

for their servants, horses, postboys, profuse stabling, and bedroom accommodation.

The traffic did not go quite at once; for a time the railway carried no cattle, but in the end all went, and the place became most lamentable—its trade absolutely gone, its innkeepers in some cases ruined. It was like a man in the heyday of life suddenly struck down with a fell and incurable disease. Many inns have since altogether disappeared, and they are still disappearing; some have become private houses, and it is not possible to discover the sites of what were once popular and well-known hostelries. As far as I have been able, I have put down what can be found out about them, together with the earliest notice of them in our registers or elsewhere. Below are the names of some of the landlords as found in the registers:

Crosskeys. 1625. Nicolas Raulins. 1684. Richard Bevis, his wife Mary.

Lion. 1696. Anne Mariot.

George. 1692. Anthony Brasier.

White Hart. 1668. Godfrey.

Eagle or Swan. 1668. George Evans.

NAMES OF INNS

Those marked F. are in Fryerning, I. in Ingatestone. Those marked † are not in the village.

Those in italics are no longer inns, or not identified.

The dates are those found in the registers unless otherwise noted.

F. Anchor. 1679.	I. <i>Lion.</i> 1629, 1664, 1666, 1673, 1689, 1786.
I. Bell. 1625, 1679, 1700, 1703, 1705.	† <i>Maypole</i> (see Woolpack).
F. Blue Boar. 1628.	I. <i>New Inn.</i>
†F. <i>Boot.</i>	F. <i>Royal Oak.</i>
F. <i>Bull.</i> 1487, 1679.	F. <i>Ship.</i>
I. (?) <i>Chequers.</i> 1671.	I. <i>Star.</i>
†I. <i>Cock.</i> 1686, 1699.	F. <i>Swan.</i> 1592, 1672, 1680.
†I. <i>Cricketers' Arms.</i>	†I. <i>Viper.</i>
I. <i>Crosskeys.</i> 1625, 1664, 1684, 1699, 1700.	F. <i>White Hart</i> (Ipswich Arms). 1665.
I. <i>Crown.</i> 1698, 1700, 1703.	I. (?) <i>White Horse.</i> 1682.
F. <i>Dolphin.</i> 1669. 1671.	†F. I. <i>Woolpack.</i>
F. <i>Duke's Head.</i>	F. <i>Bird in Hand</i> ; later, <i>Queen's Head.</i>
F. <i>Eagle.</i> 1628, 1663, 1665.	†F. <i>Davy, Beggar Hill</i>
I. <i>George.</i> 1629, 1678, 1692, 1700.	

Anchor. This has lately been rebuilt, part of the old site being thrown into the road by Stock Lane to widen the narrow and very dangerous corner there. It was formerly much larger, and I believe some of the cottages on the north side of Stock Lane are part of the old stabling.

Bell. This inn also is not so large as formerly ; it extended over what is now an open passage to the south of the existing building. It still contains many fine old moulded beams, both upstairs and down, but these have been painted and white-washed. There are nice stairs and landing, but, Mrs. Purkiss tells me, no oak floors to speak of. A door inside still contains panes of fine old bottle glass. A description of the inn in the eighteenth century will be found in *As others see us*. The old sign-board bears the picture of a bell, upon the rim of which is this inscription :

Vivos Voco. Mortuos
Plango. Fulgura Frango.

(I call the living. I mourn the dead. I shiver the lightning.)

Landlord: 1625, Christopher Cornwell; 1705, Richard Watson, wife Sarah.

Boot. From an artistic point of view we must lament the departure of this old house. It stood at the end of Beggar Hill, and was pulled down a few years ago by Mr. E. H. Sikes, who, after leaving the site to air for a while, built two, more commodious if less picturesque, cottages upon it. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was a house much frequented by the smugglers, who brought their goods here, 'from the water,'—whether the Thames or the Crouch I cannot say. Not only the men's tobacco and spirits were smuggled in those days, but the ladies' tea and laces, and many other things, the result of the heavy duties then levied. Far from the village, with tracks to Mill Green and through Howletts Hall and Maple Tree Lane, it was a convenient spot in which to conceal and disperse their goods. Moreover, the woods close by would have afforded hiding-places when the excisemen were on the smugglers' tracks; and I cannot help thinking that the white ghost, which I have been told frequented at one time

the hollow just beyond the old inn, was a very useful ally of the illegal traders. The house ceased to be an inn many years ago, and was for a time a little shop, and later on it was occupied as two cottages. I regret that I never photographed this interesting though decayed old building before it was pulled down, but it is only lately I have learnt its past history from Mr. Osborn.

Bull. Blue Boar. Chequers. Cock. Crosskeys. Dolphin. George. I am unable to identify certainly any of these houses. New Inn is probably on the site of one of them, and possibly the Star, Ship, or Royal Oak may occupy the sites of some of the others, as, if a house got a bad name it was not unusual for the new owner to change it. The White Hart for a time was called Ipswich Arms, then reverted happily to its old name. The Cock was in Hyde Lane.

It has been suggested that the Bull is the Red Bull of Margaretting, but I do not think that is so, for the Ingatestone register carefully notes 'the Bull in ffriering', and the entries are very careful in that way.

The George also does not seem likely to be the Mountnessing George and Dragon, for it is mentioned several times in the register (1629-1700) and never with any parish after its name, as would happen if it were not in Ingatestone. In 1692 Anthony Brasier was landlord of the George, and the Archdeacon's book shows that Mr. Royde was landlord of the Blewe Boare in 1627, when his servant John Royley was charged with immorality.¹ The Blue Boar was a favourite Essex sign, being the crest of the De Vere family, who for five centuries ruled over part of Eastern England in semi-regal fashion.²

Crown. This house also is much smaller than of old. After the coaches departed a large portion to the south was used for a boys' school, which was very popular and much frequented by the sons of the tradesmen and farmers. Later on it was pulled down, and Mr. Howell's garage now occupies its place. The inn still has beautiful easy wide oak stairs, though

¹ See Appendix I.

² Miller Christy, *Trade Signs of Essex*.

the oak is now cased in deal, the little son of the landlord having tripped on the uneven surface some years back and broken his leg. It contains plenty of beams, and is largely lath and plaster, with much late panelling upstairs, but all painted, and perhaps not oak. There is in one of the bedrooms an eighteenth-century hob-grate, each side of which is ornamented with a crown (see under Eagle). Some of the bedrooms contain great cupboards—one with a large chest made and divided almost like a great bin. Much of the flooring is of oak. In one large room standing far away from the wall is a large square column, containing the chimneys of two lower rooms—very convenient for keeping the room aired, Mrs. Shuttleworth tells me, though it rather spoils its symmetry. A good posting business is still done locally. The ancestors of the present occupier, Mr. Shuttleworth, have lived in the parish for many generations. Some of the family were living at Handley Barns in 1626.

Duke's Head. For many years past this has been a draper's shop and in the occupation of Mr. Hicks. The name Duke's Head suggests that it was called after the great Duke of Wellington, but the house, with its old oak floors and joists, was in existence many generations before the Duke was born. It may very well have been the Dolphin, being in Fryerning; otherwise possibly the Bull or the Chequers.

Eagle. Though shorn of much of its grandeur, the Eagle still contains reminders of its former glories in its spacious landing, wide and easy stairs, and excellent bedrooms, three of which still have beautiful old oak floors. The house is now smaller, the adjoining ones having previously been part of the inn, but it still possesses a great range of stabling in the rear, with many outhouses, in the upper stories of which, Mrs. Osborn tells me, the travellers often slept.

Some of the cottages in Stock Lane were part of the stabling. Certain pieces of solid furniture always go with the inn, but nothing of any antiquity. In two of the bedrooms are old hob-grates of the style which was so prevalent in the latter

**SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANTELPIECE
WITH EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOT-
AIR STOVE, EAGLE INN**

**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STOVE,
EAGLE INN**

**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STOVE,
EAGLE INN**

part of the eighteenth century,¹ one of them ornamented with three feathers. The style of grate is exactly similar to the one at the Crown. 'The designing of flat ornament for casting and black leading was never better understood than at this period.' Muilman, writing about this date, says of Fryerning: 'Wood hereabout being rather more plenty than coal, is generally used for fuel.' The introduction of a grate for a coal fire points to the importance of the inn.

In the present billiard room is a very curious grate, with a small iron drawer on each side of the top (see illustration), which, when drawn out, lets into the room air which has been warmed by passing through pipes at the back of the grate—at least, so I explain this old stove. Mr. L. A. Shuffrey has very kindly given me the following description of the mantelpiece and stove:

'This mantel belongs to a type which I attribute to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and is exceedingly like that in Pl. LXXXVIII in my book, which is at the Victoria and Albert Museum. I have always thought that this marble looked uncomfortable in its position, but I am inclined to think that it is original. The grate is later than the marble, and, as you see, does not fit the opening. The reeded frame with bands which may be seen in the grate was much affected by furniture designers of the middle of the eighteenth century, as also the Gothic detail seen in the hobs and the debased Gothic arch. Both features may be seen in Chippendale's designs for grates (1762). The clustered reeds occur also in clocks and bedposts of that time. I have not previously met with a square panel that pulls out as in this grate, although some have air-holes in that position. The fire-back appears to be exceptional, and it may be that air is admitted to the back of it, and when warmed finds egress through the hole in the corner which draws out.'

Tradition of the dining of kings and queens in the house is still current in this old inn, and a romantic story is told of a runaway princess who was tracked and captured in the long gallery upstairs.

Lion. This house is often mentioned in the registers, but I cannot find any old inhabitant to identify its site. As the registers never mention a parish it is presumably in Ingate-

¹ L. A. Shuffrey, *The English Fireplace*, pp. 210, 211.

stone. Camden mentions it thus: 'Ingatston seems to have taken its name from a Roman miliary (which some have conjectured stands yet in a rude form at the corner of the Red Lion inn there).' It seems to me most probable that it was at the south corner of Stock Lane, opposite the Anchor—the house now in the occupation of Mr. Blyth, and for many years the house and surgery of Mr. Butler.¹ It is true the old stones are on the opposite side of the road, by Mr. George Green's butcher's shop, but they may have been moved to facilitate traffic when the railway station was first made in Stock Lane, and there is plenty of stabling room behind. In any case this is the house mentioned in Miss Braddon's novel, *Lady Audley's Secret*. The inn was latterly called the 'Red' Lion. 'The Lion' was a very popular sign in the neighbourhood.

Maypole, see *Woolpack*.

New Inn. This house is on the east side of the road, a little above the Market Place; it is now in the occupation of Dr. Ransford, and is called the Limes. The name 'New Inn' does not appear in the early registers, the inn was probably on the site of one of the older houses, whose names have died out; until quite lately it contained some of the old bar partitions and doorways. I believe it still possesses an Adam mantelpiece in one of its upper rooms. After it ceased to be an inn it was used for a time as a young ladies' school, but later it was taken by Dr. Winstanley, who is still remembered by many, and it has ever since been inhabited by doctors.²

Royal Oak. This was for many years the tap-room and hostelry for the Eagle's postboys. It does not appear to be nearly so old as many of the inns, and has lately resigned its licence. It was opposite the Working Men's Club.

Ship. This was a very old house. The floors are in part of thick oak planks, with many old beams in places; it had no stabling, but bore the repute of being rather damp, having a well under one of its floors. It has lately given up its licence, which was held for many years by Mr. King. It is now

¹ See Appendix E.

² See Appendix I.

INGATESTONE HIGH STREET
From an old print

A. D. N. W.

a watchmaker's and cycle shop. It stands rather north of the Working Men's Club, and appears in the illustration of the village street on the opposite page, the Eagle being just beyond.

Star. This house is not so old as some, and as its name does not appear in the older registers it may only lately have become an inn. Mrs. King tells me it was in old times a private house, then a baker's shop and a butcher's. The name was formerly given to the little house opposite the Ship (with steps descending to the road), and the woman who held the licence there moved to the present Star, and brought the name and licence with her.

Swan. This is on the west side, and opposite the present old Post Office and the church entrance. It is now called Milestone House, and was for many years the residence of Mr. Thomas Hodson, surgeon, who has only recently left it. The Swan was quite one of the oldest inns, for the Archdeacon's visitation-book of 1592 records the excommunication of 'Margaret, servant at the sign of the Swan': the girl was not alone in her misfortune, as a number of other villagers were excommunicated at the same time. Here in the yard of the inn took place the prize-fight (q.v.), and it was the landlord of the Swan who was accused of harbouring Daniel Sutton's patients (p. 261). It has long ceased to be an inn, and bears no trace of its early history. The stairs are wide and easy, but there are no oak floors in the house, and the present hall occupies the old driving entrance into the yard, which is now part of the large garden. The latter still contains the pond, where doubtless the innkeeper kept fish ready for his customers, as did the landlady of the Bell.

Viper. This house is one of the few not in the village. Planted away on Mill Green Common and close to the woods, where vipers are by no means unknown, it is easy for a native to understand how it came by its most unusual name, though Mr. Miller Christy seems to have been puzzled by it. 'Essex can boast of a reptilian sign which probably exists nowhere else, a beerhouse keeper at Ingatestone having, for some inscrutable reason, selected the Viper—a device not noticed by

Larwood and Hotten.'¹ It is to be hoped the quaint and original name may remain as long as the house survives.

White Hart (at one time Ipswich Arms). First let me rejoice that the old house has reverted to its original designation. It can be traced back in the register to 1665, and lately there has come to light one of the brass halfpenny tokens issued in 1668 by the then innkeeper, bearing on one side his name 'John Godfrey in Ingerston' and a device of a Hart couchant, and on the other side the letters 'G. W. A. his halfe penny 1668'. The issuing of this token shows the inn to have been of considerable importance at that time, and in the Fryerning register of 1673 is entered the death of 'Mrs. Godfrey', a title given to persons of position in the village.

The house still remains much as it was in its palmy days, supported by great oak posts and beams: a well-moulded beam still remains in the parlour, and much of the flooring upstairs is oak. Mrs. Noakes tells me that in one of the garrets there is a queer little hiding-place, with no window. In old days there was a great need for such places of concealment, first during the persecutions of the Tudor sovereigns, and later with the plots and counter-plots that were going on for many years, when many Roman Catholics must have come on missions to the Petres, whom it was not always safe to conceal at Ingatestone Hall; and doubtless at times the smugglers wanted a place of concealment.

Some of the great stabling behind still remains, but much is turned into cottages, and part is used as a warehouse by Mr. G. P. Smith. The old building in the Market Place, formerly used by Mr. Warner, was the apple-room of the White Hart. The licence has lately been surrendered, but the old house still offers travellers hospitality in the form of tea.

Woolpack (formerly Maypole). For many generations an inn bearing this name has flourished in the neighbourhood, but from information given by Mr. Stewart, an old inhabitant,

¹ *Trade Signs of Essex*, p. 106.

it does not seem to have been always borne by the present building, but formerly by the house called Spilfeathers;¹ this seems exceedingly probable, as in ancient days the traffic would have come along the track at the back of the Hyde, past Spilfeathers, and then down Beggar Hill and along Maple Tree Lane to Blackmore. The present Woolpack, Mr. Stewart says, was called the Maypole. It is reputed to be a very ancient alehouse, dating back, according to some, 'as long as beer has been drunk'; according to others, to 1100. I have not been able to find any notice of it as the Maypole, and neither of the two names occurs in the registers until quite late days, when the Woolpack is mentioned: that is probably partly because they would have been mostly frequented by the poorer class of travellers, and partly because, being close to Fryerning Church, burials would take place there, and the Fryerning register practically never gave the name of inn or house. The Maypole was a very likely name for an inn in that position, adjoining the little green where the Whit-Wednesday fair is still held, and where the May Day celebrations would certainly have taken place. The old copper sign of the Woolpack was in existence not so many years ago, and was mended by Mr. Stewart's father. It seems to me quite possible that Maple Tree Lane is a corruption of Maypole Tree Lane and that in far distant days May Day jollifications were held there—perhaps as far back as the days of the Bedesman who lived at the little hermitage at the end of the lane. There are no maples of note in the lane, that I have been able to discover, but many oaks; and Maple Tree Lane has a very suburban sound, quite unfitting that most rural spot. [I hear later from Mr. Samuel Sitch that long ago a fine maple stood on the bank at the Mill Green end of the lane, but it was cut down many years ago; so my dream may be wrong.] The inn stands in both parishes.

Tom and Jerrys. This old name is still often used for a small beerhouse, though not many people can say why; but the *Slang Dictionary* gives this explanation. Tom and

¹ But see under Spilfeathers and Adkins.

Jerry days were those of the Regency, 1810–1820; also ‘when George IV was King’. In Pierce Egan’s *Life in London*, published 1821, Corinthian Tom and Jerry Hawthorn figure largely in the low and fast scenes described, and ‘Tom and Jerry shop’¹ became the common designation of a low drinking-shop, and later of one where only beer was sold.

Bird in Hand, 1836. Later, *Queen’s Head*. This has lately ceased to be a beershop, and is now Mr. Gibbon’s corn and meal shop.

Mr. Davy’s house in Beggar Hill—an unpicturesque successor to the long defunct Boot Inn.

For further names, *see* Fryerning Court Rolls, Appendix I.

TRADE TOKENS

Intimately connected with the inns are the trade tokens, issued in the seventeenth century, from 1648 to 1679. Their origin was as follows: It was considered beneath the dignity of the sovereign to issue coins of any baser metal than silver, and owing to the increase of trade and increasing value of silver the coins became smaller and smaller in size, and the small ones most inconvenient to use. Consequently the people demanded a copper or brass coinage, but for many years the Government took no steps to meet the need, though the Commonwealth Government considered the matter, and had patterns struck of copper and brass, but it went no further. The people therefore took the matter in their own hands, and the tradesmen and others struck their own local coinage.

‘Tokens are essentially democratic; they were issued by the people, and it is of the people they speak. They record, with few exceptions, the name of no monarch, they speak of no event of importance, they were not issued by Government or Peers—but by the small and unknown traders of well nigh every village, and by officials such as Churchwardens and Mayors.

They commence in 1648 and cease in 1679, so that the entire series forms one very short chapter of thirty years in that most troublous of times in our country’s history. They were the small change of the period, and were extremely useful to the people who issued them. They would never have been issued but for the

¹ *Slang, and its Analogues*, J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, 1904.

Donald Macbeth.
INGATESTONE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS

HALL MARK ON FRYERNING PATEN

E. H. N. H.

indifference of a Government to a public need, and their issue forms a remarkable instance of a people supplying their own needs by an illegal issue of coinage, and in this way forcing a legislature to comply with demands and requests at once just and imperative.'¹

The great number of tokens issued in Essex is a sign of the prosperity and trade of the county: about three-fourths are farthings. Of our neighbours' issues the following are known (1889): Chelmsford 22, Romford 10, Brentwood 5, Billericay 5, Stock 3, Blackmore 1; none are on record of Mountnessing or Margaretting. Five of those issued in our own parish are known, one of them having come to light since the issue of Boyne (1889). They are as follows:

1. *Obv.* John and James Barker their halfe penny (in seven lines)
Rev. of Ingateston 1668=I. T. B. ($\frac{1}{2}$).
2. *Obv.* George Evanes=a dove holding an olive branch (?)
Rev. in Ingatestone=G. I. E. ($\frac{1}{4}$).
3. There is a variety of this token with initials on reverse C. M. E.
4. *Obv.* George Evanes=a dove holding an olive branch (?)
Rev. in Ingate stone 1668=his halfe penny ($\frac{1}{2}$).
5. *Obv.* John Godfrey in Ingerston=Hart couchant.
Rev. His Halfe Penny 1668 W. A. G.

This last token was very kindly given to me recently by Miss Janet Hull, of Jericho, Blackmore;² it was dug up in the garden there a few years ago. 'Mrs. Godfrey' was buried at Fryerning on Sept. 16, 1673.

I am not inclined to agree with Boyne's description of the bird, and think it was much more likely the sign of the Eagle inn, the bird being an eagle with an olive branch—such as figures on a coin illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, *Greek Coins in Italy*, p. 349; or possibly it was a token of the Swan inn, the device being meant for the Swan and laurel branch of Apollo. It is only of late years the Eagle has opened its wings and become the Spread Eagle.

I can hear of no Roman coins having been found in either parish;³ a farthing of the first issue of Charles II was recently

¹ Will. Boyne, *Trade Tokens*, 1889, Introduction.

² The Blackmore token bears the name of Robert Peachey, and a sugar-loaf.

³ A few years ago over twenty copper coins of the Constantine period were discovered in the ground when pulling down the old Priory Cottages at Blackmore, they are now in the possession of Miss Hull.

dug up in the village, and a sham spade half-guinea playing-counter, and Hanoverian coppers not unfrequently come to light, but nothing of any real account. A few Elizabethan silver coins were, I believe, found when the old Boot inn was destroyed, and Mr. Stewart came across a few others in an old Highwood cottage. A James II copper crown was found in the garden of Mill Green House—a coin that James issued when he invaded Ireland, promising to change it for a silver one when he had regained his lost throne.

CHAPTER XXII

NATURE

The violets, cowslips, and the primroses,
Bear to my closet.

THE geology of the parishes has been touched on in the first chapter. The clay which is so predominant a feature is of a kinder nature than in some districts, for we are a two-horse-plough country. It often gives most excellent crops of corn, and the sight from the uplands of Fryerning in the harvest-time of 1911—of the glorious fields, stretching in every direction, rich, not only with weighty grain, but in every hue from the palest yellow to the deepest red gold—will not soon be forgotten.

From Roman days onward, and probably long before, Essex was noted for its corn. For many centuries much was exported, but those days are now far past. Wheat and oats are the main corn crops; barley does not seem to flourish quite so much. Many beans are grown, and the scent of the bean-fields in spring is worth coming some distance to enjoy. Many excellent potatoes are grown for the local and London market, but our parish does not grow the market peas that in many of our neighbouring parishes regulate the school holidays by the capricious date upon which they choose to mature for picking.

The old pasture land, too, is often rich, and grows lush grass, responding amazingly to the basic slag that modern industry and science have brought to the farmer's gate. With the growth of London, and the facilities the Great Eastern Railway affords for conveying milk, a large dairy-farming business has arisen. Very little butter is made, but the milk from the great herds of cows that quietly graze in our meadows, and amble nonchalantly along the road down which we drive to the station, goes twice a day to the great city. Our station receives about £100 a month for carrying daily 70 churns to London.

Very few sheep are to be found here: the soil is too cold and damp in winter, but occasional flocks may be seen—more often, I fancy, for the benefit their grazing, treading, and manuring do the land than for any large profit that they bring the farmer.

Hops were a great industry formerly, probably largely grown for home use, for until recent years every farmer and many innkeepers brewed their own beer. Mr. Osborn still has a large copper skimmer that was used for skimming off the yeast, which belonged to his father. 'Hop grounds' and 'gardens' are found dotted all over the parish tithe-map, and in the hedges of these fields the hops, growing wild, still hang their graceful festoons.

The trees are many and fine, especially the oaks, which grow magnificently. Hollies, too, are very abundant, and probably explain the abundance here of that most charming, and in many places not common, butterfly, the Holly Blue. There are not many beeches, though they seem to do well where planted, but hornbeams are common. The few old Lombardy poplars are fast disappearing: they are not long-lived trees, and were probably planted about the time of Dutch William. Those recently felled near Trueloves were quite hollow and evidently unsafe; but it is to be wished that owners of high ground would again plant a few—they make so pleasing a landmark in the distant views. Willows flourish on the damper ground, and an experiment is being made to cultivate them for the bat-making industry, but it is too soon to say whether it will be successful. The alder is common by water, and often grows to a great size.

Of trees specially to be noticed I would mention the great oak in Fryerning Hall garden, several great oaks on the south side of the road between St. Leonards and the Tiles, the large cedar in Mill Green House garden, and the two yews in the wood behind Lightoaks; and, of course, the yews in Fryerning churchyard, which very likely date from the reign of Henry II (or even before), when an Act was passed to order the planting of yews in churchyards to provide wood for the archers' bows; the yew, being deadly to cattle, could

FRYERNING HALL AND ANCIENT OAK
(Not in Domesday !)

not be grown in the fields. Though firearms were invented as far back as 1400, it was many years before the bow was supplanted by them, and constant practice at the butts took place, with tragic result here on one occasion :

‘Grant of pardon to John Farrant of Ingerston, labourer, for accidentally killing Thos. Olmestead with an arrow while shooting at the Butts called Twelve Score Prick at Abbas Gyng.’ (*State Papers*, 34 Hen. VIII.)

I cannot hear of any field with that name to-day. The picturesque Scotch firs in Fryerning churchyard were planted about one hundred and fifty years ago by good Churchwarden Samuel Perry.

The Flora is not strikingly large, yet more flowers are to be found by the careful searcher than would at first sight appear. Mr. West, the schoolmaster, encourages his scholars to bring all the wild flowers they can find for identification, a picture of each being then fixed on the wall of the school-room and left till the end of the week. The school has kindly supplied me with a long list of the flowers found, from which list I have made a small selection, and added some mentioned to me by Mrs. Edward Christy.

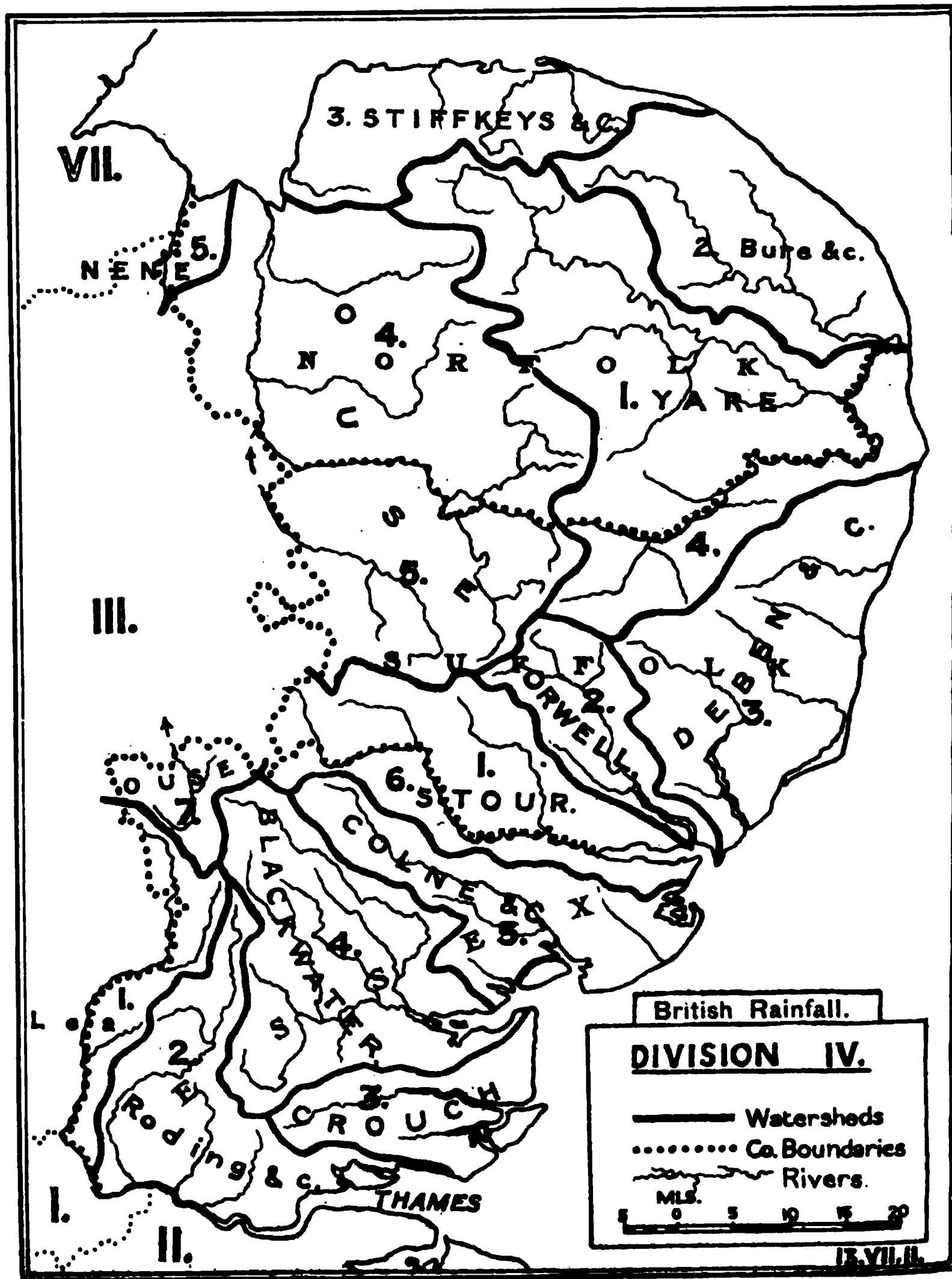
White Beam-tree, Lesser Periwinkle, Water Violet, Adoxa, Blue Sherardia (*arvensis*), Great Yellow Loosestrife, Moneywort, Yellow Pimpernel, Centaury, Henbane, Herb Paris (possibly just over the border), Celery-leaved Crowfoot (*Ranunculus sceleratus*), Red Bartsia, Lesser Skull-cap, Daphne, Yellow Water-lily, Yellow Iris, Daffodils, Rosebay Willow-herb, Teasel, Dyer’s Greenweed, Bluebells. Fleabane, Horsetail, and Stinking Mayweed are far too common, but the profusion of Wild Roses and Honeysuckle festooning the hedges are a joy to the wayfarer in the summer, as the Broom is in the spring, when all the world goes out ‘paigling’. The Cow Mumble in the summer is welcomed by the tame rabbits. Lilies of the Valley grow, or grew, just inside our parish, in the woods. The Rosebay Willow-herb, from the luxuriant manner in which it clothes the gravel-pits, is clearly a native and not an immigrant. I intentionally abstain from naming the habitats of the rarer plants, lest they should be recklessly exterminated.

Mr. Osborn finds the most troublesome weeds on St. Leonards Farm, Charlock, and Clivers or Goose-grass (*Galium Aparine*). He does not think so well of Clivers as did Dioscorides, the compatriot and contemporary of St. Paul, who recommended it as a filter for straining milk. Happily St. Leonards Farm is free of the still more troublesome weed, Crow's Onion (*Allium vineale*). It is found on some of our farms and at Blackmore, and is dreaded by the wheat-growing farmer, as it taints the grain with its horrible odour and is one of the most difficult and insidious of weeds to eradicate. This very winter, one of our farmers lamented to Mr. Walter Osborn the loss he had sustained through it.

Ferns are few, save the common bracken, but this might be expected, from the small rainfall and the sharpness of the east winds: but in old days *Adiantum nigrum* abounded along Fryerning Lane, till, in the 'sixties, people came from London to get the plants, and it became extinct. The Royal Fern, *Osmunda regalis*, grew on Mill Green Common, but is now extinct.

With the exception of the Holly Blue (*Papilio argiolus*), all the local butterflies are of the commonest types, though I have once seen the large Tortoiseshell (*Vanessa polychlorus*), and the Clouded Yellow (*Edusa*) (1912), and very occasionally a large Fritillary, and the Ringlet. My son has made the following notes on his collection:

'Moths appear to be fairly plentiful, and this is probably accounted for by the well wooded and sparsely populated country which connects the parishes with Epping Forest. The Lepidoptera have not been thoroughly investigated, and the following list of some of the less common species is compiled almost entirely from the results of one season's collecting in the immediate neighbourhood of Furze Hall, and does not pretend to be exhaustive: *Macroglossa bombylififormis* Och., *Calligenia miniata*, *Hepialus hectus*, *Zeuzera pyrina*, *Psilura monacha*, *Lasiocampa quercifolia*, *Drepana lacertinaria*, *D. falcataria*, *Pterostoma palpina*, *Lophopteryx camelina*, *Thyatira derasa*, *Cymatophora or*, *Asphalia diluta*, *Hydroecia micacea*, *Neuria reticulata*, *Cerigo matura*, *Luperina cespitis*, *Apamea unanimitis*, *Caradrina alsines*, *Agrotis puta*, *A. saucia*, *A. obscura (ravid)*, *Triphaena ianthina*, *T. fimbria*, *Amphipyra pyramidea*, *Anchocelis rufina*, *Cerastis spadicea*, *Cleoceris viminalis*, *Aplecta advena*, *Hadena trifolii (chenopodii)*, *H. pisi*, *Plusia moneta*, *P. iota*, *P. pulchrina*, *Acontia luctuosa*,



Eastern Counties River Basins, by kind permission of Dr. H. R. Mill and British Rainfall Organization.

Epione apiciaria, *Pericallia syringaria*, *Amphidasys strataria* (*prodromaria*), *Geometra papilionaria*, *Phorodesma pustulata* (*bajularia*), *Acidalia imitaria*, *A. emarginata*, *Melanthia ocellata*, and *M. albicillata*.—E. H. N. W.'

Foxes and the homely rabbit are far too plentiful to please the farmers and those cottagers who strive to rear poultry. True, the Hunt sometimes pays compensation, but not sufficient to recoup the poultry-owner for the loss he or she sustains from the destruction wrought by Mr. Reynard. English cottagers are often urged by newspaper-writers and other armchair advisers to take up poultry-rearing, as do the French, but having myself lost in one night 58 out of 63 chickens, I am not surprised that most of them decline to embark in the laborious and precarious industry. It is not a pleasant sight to see the field or the lane strewn with dozens of mangled corpses. As we have many small woods about, and as we lie at the extreme boundary of the Essex and Essex Union Hunts, the huntsman never troubles to stay long enough or late enough to kill properly, and the foxes increase at a most alarming rate. But a great number of the gentry hunt, often enjoying good sport, and to a certain extent the farmers benefit by supplying the horses with fodder.

The average rainfall seems to be much the same as at Chelmsford, i.e. 24 to 25 inches a year. The annual reading of the gauge at Furze Hall is a little higher than that at Wellmead, owing probably to the woods and many great trees surrounding it. It may be noted that a heavy thunder-shower will often drench the village street one and a half miles away and leave an offering in the Wellmead gauge, yet pass the Furze Hall gauge altogether; but on a really rainy day, or one when the atmosphere is laden with moisture, Furze Hall will catch the most. The position of Wellmead on the brow of the hill might also account for its receiving slightly less rain than its neighbours, Furze Hall and Docklands. Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, Mr. Archibald Christy, and Mr. F. Chancellor of Chelmsford, have kindly furnished me with their rainfall records for the last eleven years, from which it will be seen that Ingatestone and Chelmsford have much the same average.

Mr. Fred Chancellor's average for forty-five years is 22.80. All the gauges are in the Blackwater river-basin.

Station :—	Furze Hall	Wellmead	Docklands	Chelmsford
Above sea level :—	285 ft.	291 ft.	200 ft. (?)	92 ft.
	inches	inches	inches	inches
1902	19.35	19.47	20.12	19.66
1903	34.93	34.18	34.48	33.75
1904	19.94	18.44	19.53	19.06
1905	22.48	20.42	22.15	19.19
1906	26.67	25.21	23.48	24.19
1907	22.49	21.01	24.45	20.73
1908	22.66	20.64	22.09	22.15
1909	28.43	27.75	31.46	28.24
1910	25.23	23.23	26.92	24.37
1911	22.81	21.92	22.63	20.75
1912	24.57	23.27	26.52	24.43
Average for the 11 years	24.51	23.23	24.89	23.32

Mr. Archibald Christy also kindly sends me the monthly average at Wellmead for the decade 1901-10 inclusive (commencing one year earlier than the previous table and ending two years sooner) :

January	...	...	1.42
February	...	...	1.33
March	...	...	1.89
April	...	...	1.53
May	...	...	1.69
June	...	...	2.50
July	...	...	2.20
August	...	...	2.18
September	...	...	1.36
October	...	...	2.64
November	...	...	1.98
December	...	...	2.20
Average	...	...	22.92 for the 10 years.

It should be observed that the exceptionally wet summer of 1903, when over six inches of rain fell in June, has brought out the average on both tables higher than it would otherwise be.

The following are the only entries in the registers about the weather, and these are made by Rector Ewer :

- 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. Feb. 3. Great wind and rain.
1705. Dec. 8. Stormy wind and snow.
170 $\frac{3}{4}$. Jan. 19. Fast day of the storm.
1707. Sept. 10. In great rain.

The presence of iron in the soil is very noticeable in wet winters, when the water lies in the ditches and depressions in the meadows, a thick yellow scum of rust colour forming on the top of the stagnant water.

This chapter must not end without recording the two days last century when our parishioners were so forcibly reminded of the Master of the universe and the powerlessness of man. First, the earthquake that worked so much destruction in Essex on Tuesday, April 22, 1884, soon after 9 a.m. It is said to have been the most serious and destructive one felt in England since 1480. Though no houses were brought down here, it was severely felt, and left its mark on Ingatestone Church, the crack in the tower that showed itself shortly afterwards being evidently caused by the movement of the earth: a few years later this crack necessitated very considerable and costly repairs to the old tower.

But the storm two days after Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee affected our parishes more severely. About 2.30 p.m. on June 24, 1897, the clouds gathered with lurid lights on them, and shortly afterwards a heavy thunderstorm and tornado of wind burst over the parishes, accompanied by a terrific hail-storm. The width of the path of the storm was not great, but Mill Green lay nearly in the centre of its track. The force of the wind was so immense that great trees bowed almost flat before it, some of them being torn up by the roots. When the storm had passed away, destruction was seen everywhere. A stack of chimneys at Lightoaks had come down without the inmates being aware of its fall, so great was the noise of the storm. The hay which was about to be carried, was swept clean away from the fields, cattle were injured and much poultry killed, all the greenhouses were in ruins, and the heaps of hailstones still remained the following day, one cottager in Beggar Hill then discovering her missing poultry frozen under a heap in her backyard; the roads were deep with branches

and leaves torn from the trees. Subscriptions were opened and much money collected for the relief of the farmers and others who had suffered so severely.

It was several years before the fruit-trees recovered, so deeply had their bark been cut and bruised by the great hailstones. Mr. Self's crop of wheat had completely disappeared, not blown away, but beaten down and absolutely buried under the earth. Fish out of the lake at the Hyde were carried away with the storm-water and picked up in the village street a mile away; and in Burrin's pond, Furze Hall, many fish were afterwards found floating dead, possibly killed by the sudden lowering of the temperature of the water, perhaps by the shock of the storm.

Symons's *Meteorological Magazine* of July, 1897, has an excellent map of the track of the storm, from which it may be seen that the worst damage was sustained in an area which might be described as an oval—from Maldon, north to Chelmsford, keeping north of Ongar to Epping, then down through Loughton to Kelvedon Hatch, leaving Brentwood and Billericay to the south, and so up through the Hanningfields to Maldon; Mill Green and Blackmore appear in the centre of this area. The magazine contains a long account of the storm, from which I give several extracts.

Mr. Coverdale thus relates his own personal experiences of the storm:

'I was driving with my son and my coachman, Gray. We had just got up to Mr. Kortright's house¹ when the storm came on. We jumped out of the trap and hastened into the house. The storm descended without the slightest warning, except the blackness. First the hail and rain came down vertically, and then at a sharp angle. Down came the top of a tree at once. My man Gray—how he stood the storm, I don't know—managed to get the cob under the sides of the house, and Mr. Kortright, my son, and I went out to try and assist. The hailstones immediately riddled the umbrella which I put up, and beat me back. The pony sustained a cut right down his nose. (This was a jagged wound about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and the pony's whole body was covered with lumps about the size of hens' eggs. A pailful of hailstones was gathered out of the trap.) My man's chest and arms looked afterwards just as if he

¹ Probably the Hut.

had had five minutes with a bruiser. They were discoloured everywhere, and full of bumps. The force with which he was struck by the hailstones may be estimated by the fact that although he was wearing a mackintosh, livery coat, sleeved waistcoat, and shirt, he is black and blue. His tall hat was dented in. My son got a crack on his head through his hat, and there was a bump on his head in a moment as big as a hen's egg.'

Mill Green. The roof of Mrs. Du Cane's house looked as if some one had gone along and broken the tiles with a hammer.

Ingatestone. Mr. A. H. Raven picked up one stone which measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches round, and another which weighed (at the Post Office) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces.

Mill Green Park. Twenty-four hours after the hailstorm the stones lay a foot deep on the N.W. side of the house, and one taken at haphazard measured $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference.

Harding's Farm. Chimney struck and fell through the roof, 20 large trees uprooted and many others had the tops off.

The Hyde. About 20 large trees uprooted and 150 broken.

Ingatestone. Nearly every private house was damaged, not merely the windows but the roofs, and by overthrown trees.

Mill Green. A large frame covered with tiffany was whirled over a clump of trees 30 ft. high and carried 60 yards.

Jordan's Farm. 300 tiles blown off.

Ingatestone. Mr. Howell, baker, was driving his cart. It was blown over and he was bruised from head to foot (part by fall, part by hail).

Essex. The number of birds killed was enormous, and in many districts there will be no shooting. Not only were young birds drowned, but old ones were struck dead by the hailstones. Cases are on record where wood-pigeons, crows, and other birds fell from trees as if shot by guns, with their heads split open by the falling ice.'

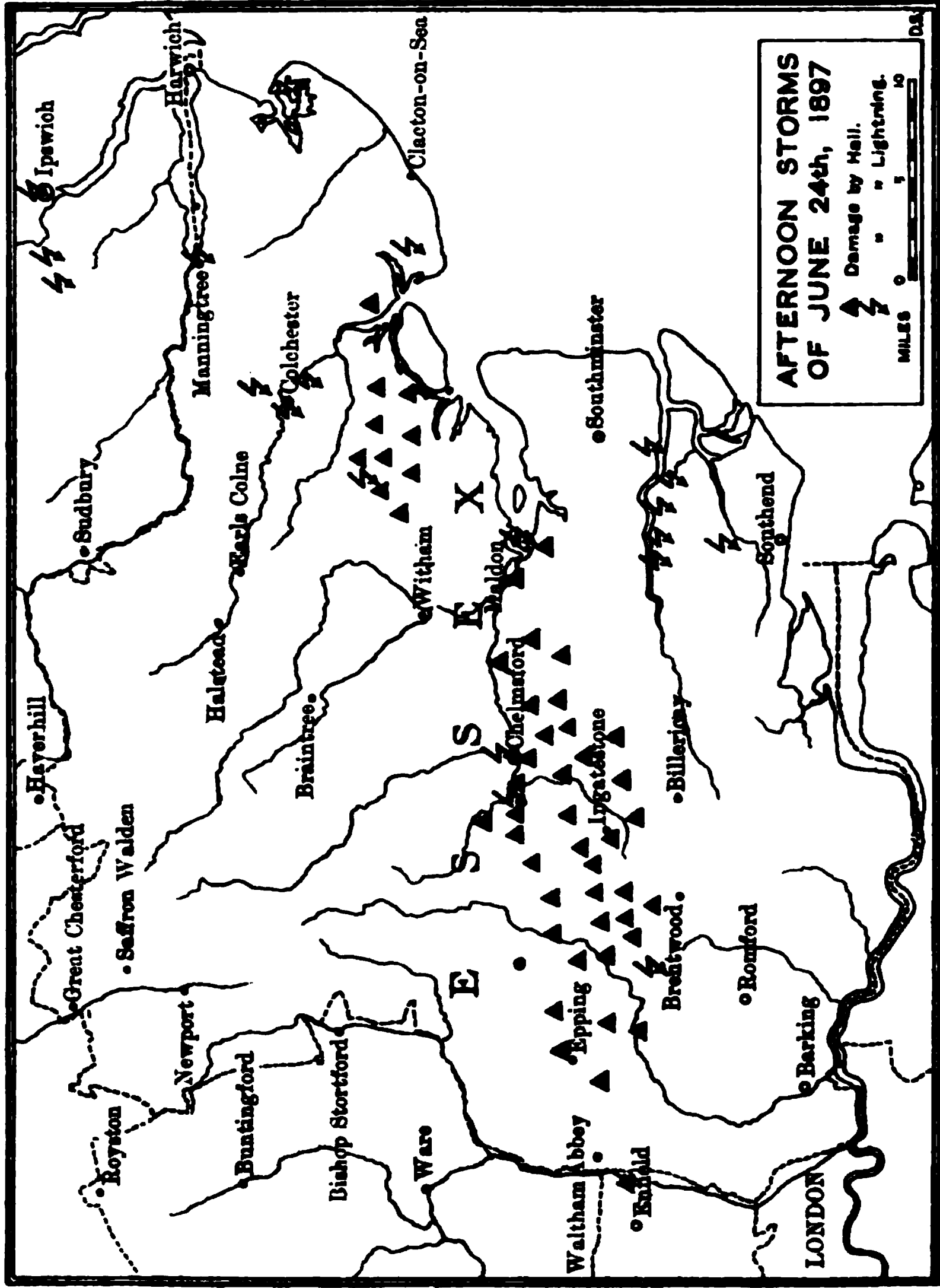
I add the following, as it happened less than half a mile from our parish boundary. From Margaretting Hall, Mr. David Christy reported :

'I was on the top of the haystack when the storm broke. The wind blew away the poles and ladders and there I had to stay! Two trees close to the stack were twisted and blown about to such an extent I expected them to come down upon the stack every moment. One or two trees were blown down quite close to me, but I did not hear them, owing to the noise of the wind and the hail. One of my old men (Cheek), who is of the same age as the Queen, was caught in the storm, and his arms and body beaten black and blue by the hail. He has been in bed until this morning, quite unable to get up. Five other men took shelter under a tree, but when they saw a tree each side of them blown down they rushed into the open. Two of my horses bolted with a wagon, which overturned into a ditch. A lamb and chickens killed by the hail.'

I will end with part of the storm's time-table, from the same magazine :

2.45 p.m.	Carried away a tent a little south of Epping ;
2.55	it was wrecking Ingatestone ;
3.0	it reached Chelmsford ;
3.10	it was at Danbury ;
before 4.0	it had died out south of Colchester.

Through the kindness of Dr. H. R. Mill, of the British Rain-fall Organization, I am able to give a sketch-map showing where the greatest damage was done in the county.



Donald Salter.

CHAPTER XXIII

DIALECT WORDS

THERE are but few dialect words and expressions to note, but amongst them are the following :

Ail. The beards of barley. Common.

Bange, Bangey (soft *g*). Light fine rain, drizzle. **Bangey-ing, drizzling.** Wright indicates this as mostly confined to Essex, and derives it from the French *baigner*, to wet, quoting the French saying, *il fut baigné par la pluie*. Common amongst elder people.

Banting. Not eating food. This must be modern.

Bever, Elevens. For lunch there are two words. **Bever**, from the old French *bevre, boivre*, to drink. This seems a common expression through the county. The other word is **Elevens**, or 'levens. After this meal, at whatever hour taken, it is usually called afternoon.

Clivers. Goose-grass (*Galium Aparine*).

Cow Mumble, Mumble. Cow parsnep, or Cow parsley (*Heracleum Sphondylium*). Quite universal.

Fash. *Don't fash*, 'don't worry.'

Four wants, Four want ways. 'Cross roads'—from the Anglo-Saxon *wendan*, to turn, i.e. four turns. Well known.

Hazel, hazeling, for clothes that are partly dry, and for hay, &c., partly dried by the sun heat, 'it's hazeling nicely'. Connected apparently with the Norwegian *hesja*, frames on which hay is dried; also Icelandic. Common.

Hodmadod, or Hodmanod. Snails. But as the shelled variety is not common in this locality the word is not often heard.

Horsen. The plural termination *en* was commonly used by the older people, *housen* for houses; but it shows signs of dying out, with modern schooling and newspapers against it.

Largesse is sometimes used for the extra payment at harvest-time, but very seldom.

Peggles, or Paigles. The universal word here for Cowslips. The derivation of the word is very obscure. A long discussion upon it took place in *Notes and Queries* (6th Series, vols. vii, viii, 1883), and produced many suggested solutions—that it was from *paille*, French for straw and spangle, and *pagliato*, Ital., straw-coloured; or the Danish *paegel*, a small measure; or the Icelandic *böggul*, a little bag; or a variant of the name Margaret, a little Peggy; or of *speckle-macula*; or that they are called horse-buckles in Sussex, and 'peggle' is a variant of 'buckle'! And lastly, it is stated that *paigle* is a synonym in the eastern counties for paralysis, and Davis's *Torriano's Florio* was quoted (1688): 'Cowslip, *herba di paralisia*, some part of the plant being regarded as useful in paralytic affections.' 'Paggles greene an yelow,' Tusser's *Husbandry*, 1580. Not in Chaucer glossary.

Pummie. 'All of a pummie' is very commonly used to denote anything that has gone squash, e.g. potatoes boiled too much—'they've gone to a pummie.' The word comes from the French *pomme* (Littré gives *pomme* as an old name for cider), and is connected with cider-making; the apple-refuse from which the juice has been pressed is called in some places 'pommay' (*Essex Review*, xiv. 245).

Riled. For angry. In common use.

Stank. To dam, or head back water.—'Stank it up.' Common.

Tempest is constantly used for a thunderstorm. 'It looks like a tempest,' i. e. thunder.

Terrify. For teasing, worrying. 'The flies terrify me.'

That. Often used for *it*.

Trave. For stooks or shocks of corn in the harvest field; and for the setting of them up, the verb *to trave*. Common.

Wonderful is a very favourite description.

PART III

THE GREAT EAST ROAD

First Carrier. Heigh-ho ! An 't be not four by the day I'll be hanged : Charles' Wain is over the new chimney, and yet our horse not packed. What, ostler !

Ostler (Within) Anon, Anon. . . .

Sec. Car. . . . This house is turned upside down since Robin Ostler died.

First Car. Poor fellow ! never joyed since the price of oats rose ; it was the death of him.

Sec. Car. I think this be the most villanous house in all London road for fleas : I am stung like a tench. . . .

First Car. What, ostler ! come away and be hanged, come away.

Sec. Car. I have a gammon of bacon and two razes of ginger, to be delivered as far as Charing-cross.

First Car. God's body ! the turkeys in my pannier are quite starved. What, ostler ! a plague on thee ! canst not hear ? Come, and be hanged !

Enter Gadshill.

Gads. I prithee, lend me thy lanthorn, to see my gelding in the stable.

First Car. Nay, by God, soft : I know a trick worth two of that, i' faith.

Gads. I prithee, lend me thine.

Sec. Car. Ay, when ? canst tell ? Lend me thy lanthorn, quoth a' ? marry, I'll see thee hanged first. Come neighbour Mugs.

King Henry IV, Part I, Act II, Sc. i.

OLD COTTAGES, BEGGAR HILL

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

MY sketch of the road professes to do nothing more than glance at a few of the many wayfarers who in old days have passed along our high road ; it lays claim to no deep learning, no wide research ; its aim is simply to try to give a glimpse of the life that the forefathers of many of the present inhabitants lived, of the events that happened in their parish, and of their interest in the history of their day. And it is possible to do so in some measure in our case, for the main east road, from London to Harwich and Yarmouth, runs through the curiously intermixed village called Ingatestone, but of which the greater part is in Fryerning.

We were taught fragments of history as children, and sometimes to-day read a semi-historical novel, but it is difficult to realize that the people of whom we read were real ; that any one ever saw them except the people mentioned in the histories ; and that while history was in the making there were any ordinary people alive in the villages, who knew or cared anything about it. Therefore I venture to string together superficially trivial tales in the hope they may give some slight picture of the life of old days, which we are apt to look upon as passed by our forefathers in the depths of ignorance and misery.

The road originally must have been one of the forest tracks made by the natives long years before the arrival of the Romans. The country was largely covered by forest, and the inhabitants cut tracks through the wood as pathways between their various settlements ; doubtless many of the still-existing footpaths are relics of those pre-Roman days. May their number never grow less.

The road was probably first metalled by the Romans, who

used the route as a main thoroughfare between their two important stations of London and Colchester. They must have also had a camp or station on Mill Green or Fryerning Hill, from whence they could command a view of the valley and hills opposite; and they must have had a route thence to Ongar, probably keeping on the higher level through Maple Tree Lane and so to Blackmore. The many Roman bricks used in Fryerning Church clearly point to buildings here in early times.

On those very early days I will not linger, and would only mention that in the Vatican Museum in Rome there is the statue of Munatius Aurelius Bassus, commander of the engineers and archers of the Spanish cohort stationed at Colchester, who must certainly have passed over the site of our present village in the course of his official tours.¹ We will leave him and his Romans and Spaniards, and also the Saxons, Danes, and Normans who came after him, and begin with later days, when the village of Ingatestone-Fryerning was well established, the churches built, and the inns in full swing.

Doubtless the traversing of these parishes by the Great East Road brought much excitement to their inhabitants, from which more distant villages were excluded. In these days of rapid locomotion, when the train carries travellers swiftly through our parish, giving to them but a glance at our green or golden fields, and to us but a flash of brown carriages and a long cloud of white steam, it is difficult for us to imagine how much amusement and profit the dwellers in the village received from the many travellers who passed through on foot or horseback, and later by stage-coach and post-chaise.

The road led from London to many towns in the eastern counties, which were of first importance in old days—Colchester, Ipswich, Yarmouth, and also to Norwich, which, before the Black Death wrought such havoc amongst the population, was the second largest city in England. Harwich, too, was a very important port, and greatly used by travellers to and from the Continent, especially when England and

¹ *Essex Review*, xii. 233.

France were at war, as so frequently happened in the Middle Ages, and much later.

No railways existed until well into the nineteenth century, and until Stuart times travelling was mostly done on horseback or on foot. It is very surprising to find how constantly kings, nobles, and other people were on the move. A list of King John's Itineraries is extant,¹ giving his place of sojourn on each day of several years. He seldom stayed more than three nights in a place, and often not more than one. He constantly moved from Greenwich to Havering, and to Ongar, where he had a castle; sometimes he came to Writtle, when he may have used our road; as he must have done on March 24, 1202, on his way from Chelmsford to Faversham.

In 1348 came the terrible Black Death, which depopulated the country, one-third of the population dying of this awful visitation. It entered England early in August at Melcombe (Weymouth), Dorset, and spread gradually through the southern counties to London, where it arrived by the end of the year. It did not reach Norfolk until the end of March, 1349, and we may therefore safely conclude that it was some time earlier in that year when it visited our little town. The disease was practically the same as the bubo-plague, so prevalent to-day in India. It was swift in doing its work; one day people were in high health, the next day dead and buried; often it was fatal in twelve hours, and seldom lasted more than three days. Its principal symptoms were swellings of the lymph-glands in the armpits, neck, and groin, the size of a walnut or hen's egg, and of a livid colour. A peculiarly fatal form from which few or none recovered was characterized by 'small black pustules' on the skin; some vomited blood, many had violent delirium.² It was so contagious that those who touched the dead, or even the sick, very frequently died of the complaint. It was mostly the young and the strong who

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxii.

² 'alii ex passione capitis, et quasi in frenesim versi' C. Creighton's *History of Epidemics*, vol. i, 121, from which the above is taken. He gives a most interesting account of its origin in China, and gradual march through Asia and Europe, until it arrived in England. For the reason of the great mortality amongst secular and monastic clergy see vol. i, p. 131.

were cut off, the aged and weakly being commonly spared ; of the common people an incalculable number died, and of the clergy and the cleric class a multitude known to God only.

Never did a less welcome traveller come along our road than the Black Death. There are no records extant, that I have been able to come across, of the number of victims he claimed here, but they must have been many. A little off the high road, in Stock Lane beyond the Rectory, a field still bears the name of the Pest Field (Tithe-map of Fryerning), which was either the place of burial of the victims, who were too many to be allowed to be buried in the churchyard, which was so surrounded by houses ; or, possibly, here stood a Pest-house for the reception of travellers taken ill upon the road. At Blackmore, the Service Lane still recalls the tradition that the Prior and parishioners forbade any stranger to pass through the village, and caused the traffic to be diverted through the newly cut lane.¹

The result of the Black Death was naturally a great shortage of labourers, who even before its advent were none too numerous. The old custom of working the land was by labour of serfs who lived on the lord's estate or manor and had to put in so many days' labour on the lord's part of the estate, spending the rest of their time on their own smaller portions, and they had no freedom to move on to any other lord's land. Gradually this custom was dying out, especially on the land of the laity, where many of the serfs had bought their freedom from the lord, and hired themselves out where they liked. Much of the land was regularly worked by hired labour as at the present day, but the estates belonging to the religious communities were still mainly worked by serf labour. Now that the Black Death had made the number of the labourers so few, they naturally demanded, and in many cases received, higher wages and better treatment, and moved more freely from master to master, much to the indignation of the land-owners, who finally used their influence in Parliament and

¹ It is possible that the lane was an old British track little used, and that travellers were compelled at this time of pestilence to take it, instead of the more convenient one through the village.

passed an Act forbidding any master to give more than one penny a day for ordinary labour and twopence in harvest-time, under penalty of a heavy fine on the master and imprisonment to the labourer.

Great was the resentment felt by the people, especially as at the same time a heavy poll-tax was levied on the whole population to meet the expenses of our disastrous war with France. Discontent had long been simmering, and finally broke out in the Great Peasants' Rebellion in 1381. The eastern counties and Kent were in the forefront of the movement, Essex men being the first to rise. The tax commissioner came down to Brentwood to demand more payment from Fobbing and some of its neighbours, but he was chased out of the town, and the whole county was at once in an uproar.

Many of our Fryerning and Ingatestone men joined the movement: they must have collected in the village and moved down our road. The Ging, Bokking, and Ging-atte-stone contingent, led by a weaver of Billericay, marched through Brentwood, and joining other peasants advanced on London, threatening the north side of the city, while the Kent men, aided by some Essex men who had crossed the river at Gravesend, approached by way of London Bridge.

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

John Ball's rhyme must have often been on their lips as they marched to the city. The scenes in London are not for us to describe, but our men must have been amongst the mass of peasants assembled at Mile End, of whom King Richard II demanded, 'What will ye?' 'Freedom for ourselves and our lands,' shouted the crowd, 'and that we be never named nor held for serfs.' 'I grant it', said Richard; and an army of clerks were soon at work writing letters of emancipation and amnesty, and with these the peasants returned joyfully to their homes, and back along our road.

Their rejoicing was but short. The next morning their leader, Wat Tyler, was killed, the courage of the nobles returned, and the King disowned all the promises, verbal and

written, that he had made. He marched with an army through Essex, holding bloody assizes everywhere in person, far more cruel and wide-reaching than that for which Judge Jeffreys is still remembered.¹

At the Inquisition at Chelmsford it was presented 'that with a weaver of Billerica many men of the vills of Gyng Bokking Gyngattestane rose up against the king and gathered congregations at Brendewoode, and made assault on justices of the peace with bows and arrows to kill them, afterwards they rode about armed in a land of peace, and did many ill deeds'.² In spite of the King's written pardons given to them in London, many of our men were executed. As he lay in his prison at Pontefract long years after, did Richard remember that cruel procession he had led down our road when little more than a boy, and did the ghosts of our murdered villagers come to haunt him in those last days? 'The wheel is come full circle. I am here.'

The land in our villages was largely held by the Church, and the inhabitants must have been very bitter against the Barking Convent and the Knights of St. John; and this bitterness may account for the frequent changes amongst our clergy at that period.³ The Knights, in particular, had taken a prominent part in the matter.

Richard II and his relations must often have used our road,

¹ At Chelmsford, July 2-6, 1381. 'Meanwhile the King had begun his Bloody Assize in Essex. Tressilian, appointed Chief Justice in place of the murdered Cavendish, was the Jeffreys of the occasion, and Buckingham the Kirke. . . . The King had an interview with a deputation of peasants, at which he finally threw off the mask. 'Serfs you are and serfs you will remain,' was his answer, when they pleaded the charters of liberation from bondage which he himself had granted. The messengers retired to their main body, but the Earl of Buckingham followed hard upon them, broke up the camp at Billericay with great slaughter, and pushed on to Colchester. The royal head-quarters were moved up in the train of the armies on June 26 to the palace at Havering-atte-Bower, and on July 2 to Chelmsford, where he issued a charter revoking the manumission made at Mile End. During these weeks the sword and the rope were busy at work. Many were stabbed by the soldiers in the brakes and thickets, and left lying where they fell. It was said of Chief Justice Tressilian that he spared none who came before him for trial.' G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 246.

² *Essex Arch. Trans.*, 1878.

³ Mrs. Christy makes this suggestion, and I think it very probable.

for he himself had a house at Havering to which he resorted for hunting, and his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, lived at Pleshey, twenty miles to the north. The route between the two houses was usually our road, as we learn from old Froissart. Richard was afraid of his uncle, and in 1397 made up his mind 'that first it were better for hym to distroye another rather than another shulde distroye him', and he laid his plans accordingly.

'On a day the kyng in maner as goyng a huntynge, he rode to Hauveryng Boure, a xx myle fro London in Essex, and within xx myle of Plasshey, where the duke of Gloucestre helde his house; and after dyner the kyng departed fro hauvering with a small company and came to Plasshey about v. a-clocke. y^e weder was fayre and hote; so the king came sodainly thyder about the tyme that the duke of Gloucestre had supped, for he was but a small eater, nor satte neuer long at dyner nor at supper. Whan he herde of the kynges comynge, he went to meet with him in the myddes of the court, so dyde the duchesse and her chyl dren, and they welcomed the kyng, and the kyng entred into the hall, and so into a chambre; thare a borde was spredde for the kyng's supper; the kyng satte nat longe, and sayd at his fyrst commyng: Fayre uncle cause fyve or sixe horses of yours to be sadylled, for I wyll praye you to ryde with me to London. . . . The duke who thought none yuell, lightly agreed to y^e kyng, and whan the kyng had supped and rysen, euery thyng was redy: the kyng than toke leaue of the duchesse and of her children, and lepte a horseback and y^e duke with him . . . and tooke the waye of Bondelay, to take the plaine way, and to eschewe Brēdwode and London common hyghe way: so they rode a great pace and talked by the way with his uncle and he with hym.'

Thus they came to Stratford, where the Earl Marshal was awaiting them; here the unhappy Duke was arrested and taken to Calais by Richard's orders, and there murdered. So he rode no more along our highway.¹

Froissart's mention clearly shows how much frequented our road was, even in those distant days, and to avoid it the King, with the Duke, went round by Fyfield² and Ongar, and perhaps thence by Stanford Rivers, and so to Barking and

¹ Froissart's *Chronicle*, Berners' translation, vol. ii, chap. ccxxiii [ccxix].

² It is possible that the King's outward ride was through Ongar, but I think more probably he used our road. Morant identifies Bondelay, which he calls an unknown name, with Bondeby, of Fyfield—a seat there in old days. This would be the natural route from Pleshey, if the main road was not used.

Stratford; but the King with his small company would have ridden over our road on his way to do his treacherous deed.

Seventy years after Richard's suppression of Wat Tyler's insurrection another rebellion broke out, in consequence of the bad management of King Henry VI's revenues, and the arbitrary and oppressive taxes laid on the people. Jack Cade, who took the name of Mortimer, which was one to conjure with among the people, led the insurrection. This was mainly composed of Kent men, but with Cade were a certain number from Essex, some of whom came from Doddinghurst, Stondon, Ongar, and a large company from Great Waltham. The rising was quickly put down, and, as with Wat Tyler's insurrection, pardons were freely bestowed. The list of the pardoned still remains.

'General pardon to John Mortymer at the request of the queen, though he and others in great numbers in divers places of the realm, and especially in Kent and the places adjacent, of their own presumption gathered together against the statutes of the realm, to the contempt of the king's estate, and if he or any other wish for letters of pardon the Chancellor shall issue the same severally. The like to the following.' July 7th, 1450.¹

Among the names are none from our parishes, but it is very curious to find there the name of 'Katherine de la Pole, Abbess of the monastery of St. Mary Berkyng, and her men, tenants and servants in Berkyng and elsewhere in Essex'. No names of the tenants, &c., are given, but it is pretty certain that some of her Ingatestone men were among them, and marched along our road with the Great Waltham company on their way to join the Kent men at Blackheath.

Like Richard II's, the pardon so easily given was also by Henry VI shortly after withdrawn, and Jack Cade and many of his followers put to death. Whether our own men were among these unfortunates I cannot say.

But it was not only cruel kings and armies and rebels that used our road. Many were the pilgrims who passed through our little town on their way to and from London and the south to Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk—a favourite pilgrimage

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI, 1450.

with persons of all ranks in the Middle Ages: the poor on foot, the well-to-do on horseback, and the latter sometimes accompanied by 'an image of wax of the weight of you', carried to Our Lady as a gift, in the hope she would bestow some much desired boon, or as a thank-offering for a boon already bestowed upon the donor. Such was the image Agnes Paston promised to Our Lady of Walsingham if her son John recovered from his illness.

Often during his life must this John Paston have ridden through Ingatestone, for he was a busy lawyer in London, with a large estate in Norfolk, and was constantly going to and fro. When he was not riding himself, there were always his messengers with letters to and from his wife, Margaret Paston, who managed his estate in his absence. In spite of the large waxen image that his mother Agnes had presented to Our Lady, John died shortly afterwards in London, in 1466, and his funeral passed through our village on its way to Norwich and Bronholm, where he was buried.

The list of part of the funeral expenses is extant, and gives some idea of the pomp and ceremony that surrounded the funeral of a great man in those days. The body was accompanied all the way by a priest, Dom John Loveday, who rode, and was furnished for the occasion with a new riding cope, which cost 13s. 4d., whilst he was paid 3s. 4d., which seems rather little, as the servitors who waited upon him were paid 21d., and 'a woman who came from London with the corse' was paid 6s. 8d. There were twelve poor men who carried lighted torches by the body all the way from London to Norwich, the journey there taking six days, while they returned in three. An enormous sum was spent on torches, tapers, and candles to be used on the journey, and fees were paid in the churches they passed, for saying masses for the repose of John Paston's soul. As Ingatestone Church is so close to the high road, it is probable that a halt was made in Ingatestone, and the body laid in the church whilst Rector Shodewell said mass, and the twelve poor men and the woman went to the Eagle or the Lion for rest and refreshment.

Arrived at Bronholm, an elaborate funeral took place, with

the singing of dirges and burning of many candles and torches; and the item 'to the glaser for taking out of ii panes of the window of the church for to let out the reek of the torches at the dirge and sowdering new of the same 20*d*.' may well have occurred amongst the funeral expenses of the elder lady buried at Fryerning about the same time, whose brass still remains in the vestry, for the windows were then only small high lancets and were certainly not made to open.

A letter (908) written by William Paston to his brother, probably in March, 1489, describes an intended progress of King Henry VII from London to Walsingham, through Colchester, Ipswich, Bury, and Norwich, taking about a fortnight in all. He was to start on a Monday, when 'he will lie at the Abbey of Stratteford & so to Chelmsford'. The King and his followers had the repute of being thirsty souls, for William urges his brother John 'to purvey wine enough', for every one warns him 'that the town shall be drunken dry as Yorke was, when the King was there'.

If the progress took place, the King would pass through Ingatestone, and would expect refreshment here for himself and his followers from the leading inhabitants, and certainly from the steward of the Abbess of Barking. The letter continues: 'Sir, my lord hath sent on to the most part of the gentlemen of Essex to wait upon him at Chelmnysford, where as he intendeth to meet with the King, and desires that they be well appointed so that the Lankeschere men may see that there be gentlemen of as great substance here that they be able to buy all Lankeschere'—a boast that could hardly be safely made of Essex men to-day.

A set of travellers constantly upon the road were the officers of Barking Abbey, coming and going about the produce of their lands here; and the Knights Hospitallers would not be behindhand in their visits, for they were rapacious landlords. Then there were the hucksters, the friars, the minstrels, jugglers and tumblers, the messengers, the outlaws, and, most popular of all, the herbalists, who went about the world selling health. Many a time must one of them have spread his piece of carpet in Ingatestone market-place, displayed his goods

and harangued the villagers. Big words, marvellous tales, enumeration of the extraordinary cures they have made—all this was found, and always will be found, in the talk of these amusing itinerants. Perhaps the least welcome of the travellers were the Archdeacon and his officer the sompnour, coming continually to inquire into the morals and habits of the parishioners, and fleecing them as did Chaucer's Sompnour :

A Sompnour was ther with us in that place,
That hadde a fire-reed Cherubinnes face, . . .
With scalled browes blake, and piled berde :
Of his visage children were sore afferde. . . .
And if he found owhere a good felawe
He wolde techen him to have non awe,
In swich case, of the Archdekins curs,
But if a mannes soule were in his purs ;
For in his purs he sholde ipunished be.
'Purs is the Archdekins hell,' saied he.

But we have no space to enlarge upon all these delightful travellers. They may be read of in those most interesting books, *Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, by Jusserand, and *Mediaeval England*, by M. Bateson—both plentifully illustrated from contemporary manuscripts.

CHAPTER II

TUDOR AND STUART DAYS

OUR road saw many of the Tudor sovereigns pass along it. Henry VIII must often have used it on his way to and from Blackmore, where his mistress Elizabeth Talbois lived at Jericho, and where his natural son Henry was born.¹ New Hall, Boreham, the home of Anne Boleyn's family, was bought by Henry, and there he spent much time; his journeys to and fro must have taken him frequently through our village, and bluff King Hal may well have stopped at the Eagle or the Crown to quench his thirst on his way over our road. Anne Boleyn, too, must often have passed, and the forefathers of our Humphreys and Lokers may have seen the ill-fated Queen go through the village on her way to her short-lived glory. Princess Mary afterwards resided at New Hall, and often used our road, and soon after she was Queen made a triumphal procession through our village. After her brother's death she had collected her supporters in Norfolk, and on the last day of July, 1553, started with them 'for the metropolis, from whence her sister Elizabeth set out the same day to meet her at the head of a numerous cavalcade of nobility and gentry, amounting to a thousand persons. Among these were, in all probability, the Privy Council, who it appears met their sovereign at Ingatestone'.² This was the occasion when Sir William Petre's wife Anne attended Queen Mary on her way to London, and it is more than probable that Ingatestone Hall saw the two august sisters under its roof on that occasion, Lady Petre and her husband joining Mary's company on her

¹ Elizabeth Talbois was daughter of Sir J. Blount, and widow of Sir Gilbert Talbois; the child was created Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, in 1525, and died July, 1536.

² Agnes Strickland, *Queens of England* (Life of Queen Mary), p. 298.

departure, after entertaining her in their new and spacious country house.

Many unhappy prisoners passed on their way to Chelmsford gaol and assizes, victims of the persecutions of Henry and Mary, and George Trudgeover (Eagles) must have been through the village, on his many preaching missions, before he was imprisoned in Queen Mary's reign and executed at Chelmsford (*see* p. 53).

Queen Elizabeth's reign saw Lady Katherine Grey, sister of the unhappy Lady Jane, a prisoner in charge of Sir William Petre, staying a few months at Ingatestone Hall and then journeying on, still a prisoner, to Cockfield Hall, Suffolk, where she ended her persecuted life. She had married without the permission of Elizabeth, hence her cruel fate.

In Elizabeth's reign came many messengers with news about the Armada—first to warn the inhabitants of its approach, and the assembling of the troops at Tilbury, and later with the joyful news of its destruction.

Amongst the many travellers was Shakespeare to be found? We cannot say; but his fellow actor, Will Kemp, certainly was. This Kemp was a noted comic actor of Shakespeare's time, a member of Lord Leicester's Company, and the first impersonator of the immortal Dogberry. The parts of Launcelot, Touchstone, the Grave-digger, and Justice Shallow, all fell to his share; he spent his life 'in mad jigges and merrie jestes', and so freely interspersed his own gags into the parts he played that Shakespeare is supposed to have alluded to him when he makes Hamlet say, 'Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is put down for them.' This merry man, with the object of advertising himself widely and making a little money, made a wager that he would dance the morris-dance from London to Norwich. He let his intention be well known beforehand, and started from London on the first Monday in Lent, 1599. Thursday being market-day at Brentwood, he left Romford early in the morning, and danced into the town as the market was at its fullest.

'The multitudes were so great at my coming to Burntwood, that I had much adoe to get passage to my Inne. . . . Hauing rested

well at Burntwood, the Moone shining clearely, and the weather being calme, in the evening I tript it to Ingerstone, stealing away from those numbers of people that followed mee. Yet doe I what I could, I had above fifty in the company, some of London, the other of the Country thereabout, that would needs, when they heard my Taber, trudge after me through thicke and thin.'

He spent the night at Ingatestone, but unfortunately does not mention at which inn.

'On Friday morning I set forward towards Chelmsford, not having passed two hundred, being the least company that I had in the daytime between London and that place. Onward I went, thus easily followed, till I come to Widford Bridge, where a number of country people, and many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were gathered together to see mee. Sir Thomas Mildmay, standing at his Parke pale, received gently a payre of garters from me. So much adoe I had to passe the people at Chelmsford . . . to deale plainly I was so weary, that I could dance no more.'

The road beyond Chelmsford appears to have been worse kept than in Ingatestone, for he thus describes it: 'This foule way I could find no ease in, the lane being full of deep holes, sometimes I skipt up to the waist' into them—and two young men, who danced with him for a time, stuck fast in the mud, and were left by Kemp in that pickle, to his, if not their, delight.

He won his wager, having spent four weeks on the journey, his actual time of dancing on the road being nine days. Morris-dancing was a favourite amusement in Tudor times, the morris-dancers having from twenty to forty little bells on each leg, sewn on to a band or garter, such as 'Sir Thomas Mildmay gently received'. Will Kemp was accompanied on his journey by Tom Slye, who played the fife and tabor all the while Will capered on the road, and Tom must have been quite as weary as the dancer at the end of his day's taboring. With regard to the badness of the road beyond Chelmsford it should be remembered that this was before the days of stage-coaches, and that almost all travellers proceeded on horseback, if they could afford it, otherwise on foot.

To-day we never hear Tom Slye's pleasant tabor calling us to see the merry morris-dancer, and its place is filled less pleasantly by the hoot of the modern motor.

B. R.

FRYERNING FAIR



N. W.

WILL KEMPE AND TOM SLYE

Queen Elizabeth, when on the throne, made a royal progress through Essex in 1579, staying with the county people, amongst whom was Sir William Petre—and she, too, came through our village.

The year 1635 brought a new set of travellers along our road. Hitherto, the only way of sending letters was by special messenger, as we saw John Paston doing, or by the slow and tedious carriers' carts. In 1635 came the establishment of the Royal Post, and henceforth any member of the public could send letters by the public messengers. Fast couriers from London to the principal towns passed through the village daily, and the post-boy's horn soon became a familiar sound to the villagers as he galloped through on his way to Colchester, telling the news, dropping the local letters, and perhaps changing his horse as he made a brief halt at one of the inns. The charge for the letters he carried was twopence a piece for eighty miles, and as he paid for his drink at the White Hart or the Eagle he may have had his change in those brass halfpence that our innkeepers at this time issued, like other tradesmen all over the country; for the Government issued only silver halfpence, which were too minute to be of any practical use (*see* p. 333).

The Stuart period brought at least one great gala day to the neighbourhood. Mary Medici, dowager Queen of France, having rendered herself unbearable to the French Court by her extravagant and interfering behaviour, persuaded her daughter, Queen Henrietta Maria, to invite her to England, and in 1638 she landed at Harwich. She was received with even more than politeness, according to the account of a French writer who was with her.¹ She must have been a strong woman, mentally and physically, for de la Serre tells us they arrived at Harwich on Friday, the 29th of October, after seven days at sea in a storm, 'the Queen alone having alway appeared insensible to the fatigues of the sea, by an unparalleled force of spirit and body, and was admired by everyone' as she landed, 'with her ordinary face and majesty,'

¹ J. de la Serre, *Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reyne Mère*.

whereas all her ladies 'were a little in *désordre* on leaving the ship'. The road through our village was 'well worn with the frequent passage of gentlemen sent by their Majesties every day to enquire after her health'. She stayed on Sunday, the 6th of November, in Colchester, with John Lucas, Esq., and the verdant green and softness of his lawn awakened the admiration of the French writer for Mr. Lucas's clever gardener.

On Monday she proceeded to Chelmsford, where she was entertained by Sir Thomas Mildmay at Moulsham Hall.

'She arrived at 4 p.m., and certainly I have never seen such new and agreeable magnificence as accompanied her in this place. Picture to yourself all the peasants (*paysans et paysannes*) of the surrounding country assembled in different groups upon the road by which Her Majesty would pass, without any orders or commandments to do so other than zeal had imposed upon them. Some led by a violin, others by a pipe (*musette*), all of them received the queen dancing to the sound of these instruments, animated with a thousand acclamations of delight.'

Her suite was lodged in Chelmsford, 'all very comfortably according to the good custom of the country'.

King Charles had left London on Monday afternoon in state, with a large suite, and slept the night at Havering. Passing through Ingatestone next morning, he arrived at Moulsham Hall as the French Queen was preparing to start. Polite, if not cordial, greetings were exchanged between the King and his mother-in-law, and de la Serre inserts a frontispiece to his book—a scene which we will hope was purely imaginary—of the Queen in the centre with a lady to her left holding the King's crown, while Charles presents his sceptre to the French Queen, his eyes the while fixed upon the lady, as if fearing she would bolt with his crown; the courtiers are kneeling, one holding the King's sword, and below are the words:

Tes enfans ravis de te voir
T'offrent leur sceptre et leur couronne.
Ils te resigned leur pouvoir
Par l'Espee quon te Donne.¹

de la Serre.

But the King does not appear to have done anything so

¹ Your children, delighted to see you, offer you their sceptre and crown. Their power they resign unto you, by the sword they give you.

foolish. These ceremonies over, Charles conducted the royal lady to his state coach, drawn by four horses, and, followed by their suites in other state coaches, set forth on their journey to London.

Amongst the crowd who assembled to see the Frenchwoman during her passage through Chelmsford would surely be the boys of the Grammar School, and amongst them the two sons of the learned head master, Dr. Daniel Peake, Daniel and John, of whom the younger was destined to be Rector of Fryerning twenty years later. The crowds of Chelmsford left behind, the road would have many country folk upon it, curious to see their King and the French Madame, and the windows of the village would be filled with spectators, ancestors perchance of our Brasiers and Clifts, anxious to see the gay procession; Henry Shuttleworth and Lawrence Ram recalling with displeasure the Ship-money King Charles had levied from them last year. Doubtless Mr. Payton, the Royalist Rector of Fryerning, would be down in the village to pay his respects to his monarch as he passed, but Rector Willis, of Ingatestone, had Puritan leanings, and cannot have looked with favour upon the arrival of a Frenchwoman who was likely to increase the influence of the Papist Queen Henrietta Maria, who was already, poor soul! an object of much suspicion to her husband's subjects.¹ But the Nashes and the Withams and the Greens would have turned out to see the brave show as it passed through Ingatestone on its way to Giddy Hall, Romford,² where the Queen was to spend the night, though they may have quarrelled heartily on their way home, or in their cups at the Bell, as to whether His Majesty was right in letting the foreign woman come; for though there were few newspapers or schools in those days, they had constant tidings of the great world from the travellers daily passing over their road, and they had their own opinions on public matters quite as much as their descendants of to-day.

But Charles and the French lady pass to return no more.

¹ That they had much cause for their suspicion see *Henrietta Maria*, by H. Haynes; especially chapter iv, 'Queen of the Catholics'; the writer throughout has a warm sympathy for the Queen.

² Now the site of golf-course and new Garden Suburb.

Ten years later a troop of Royalists gallop through on a summer day, followed by a force of foot-soldiers, part of them Kent and Herts men, met at Brentwood the previous day by a large Essex contingent of King's men, under Sir Charles Lucas; 'And having Intelligence how the Enemy followed us with alarms in our rear, I commanded all the Horse that were in the Town to assist us . . . so we marched to Chelmsford',¹ on their way to Colchester to seize and hold it for the King. But the eastern counties are too Puritan for them to succeed; few of them ever see our village again, while Sir Charles and many of his gallant companions laid their bones in the graveyard of Colchester.

The Civil Wars over, more peaceful days were enjoyed by our forefathers, but the old road was still busy and frequented. By and by daily messengers hurried between Harwich and London to bring to Mr. Samuel Pepys reports of the Admiralty ships fitting out in that port to fight the Dutch. The Admiral, James, Duke of York (afterwards James II), and Pepys's colleague Sir William Batten, of whom he said, 'We do not care two pence for each other', passed to and fro on their naval duties, though the worthy diarist himself was too busy to be spared from London. After the war Mr. Pepys, then a man of more importance and leisure, came through our village on his way to Harwich to solicit the burgesses of that town to return him as their member to Parliament. His eyesight at this time was failing, and he no longer kept that quaint diary that would have told us whether he rode through on his own hackney or in a coach drawn by four horses, and whether he dined here 'and eat some of the best cheese that ever I eat in my life', or whether it was a case of 'to supper and to bed, but very bad accommodation at the Swan'.

William III and Mary dined at Ingatestone on the 20th of October, 1692, and as Lord Petre was not in favour at that time it is probable they dined at one of our inns, and not at Ingatestone Hall.

'The Queen went from here this morning to meet the King and they dined together at Ingerstone, and came in the evening to

¹ Mat. Carter, *Expedition of Kent*.

Kensington, and at night people expressed their joy for his return by bonfires and illuminations.’¹

Some of the road travellers had to make an unintended halt in our village, as did the Earl of Oxford in 1737.

‘1737. Dec. 28th. Mr. West and I set out in my chariot about eight o’clock towards Chelmsford; we were obliged to stop at a nasty little house called Hare Street, famous for cakes. The wheels being new, and never used before, took fire. We drove on and a little before we came to Ingatestone they were very bad. We stopped, and Mr. West and I walked up to my Lord Petre’s house, sent the chariot to be greased and the fire quenched. This house is called Ingatestone Hall: it is the old seat of the family, built by Sir William Petre in Queen Mary’s time; he was the raiser of the family. The house is large and convenient, several old pictures, good gardens, a very pleasant country about it, and a very pretty walk over the fields to the church, where the family are buried. Several monuments in the church but want much to be put in repair.’²

The Stuarts were gone with the death of Anne and coming of George of Hanover, but the old family still had many adherents, and the middle of the eighteenth century saw an effort made to plant them again on the throne. In 1745 the Pretender landed in the north and advanced with his forces through England, with London as his destination. A call to arms was made in Essex, and a committee was formed which met at the Black Boy in Chelmsford to raise money and enlist men; the latter were to be paid £4, and not to be sent abroad on foreign service. Amongst the names on the committee we find Thomas Lennard Barrett, Thomas Ralph, Rector of Ingatestone, John and Henry Shuttleworth, Du Cane, Tufnell; but not those of Charles Hornby of Furze Hall, nor Rector Leaves of Fryerning. Our own village, being on the main road and not far from London, saw some of the regiments quartered here, General Honeywood’s, Colonel Price’s, and Sir Robert Rich’s companies amongst them, as we know from the names in our registers. Though the Pretender was defeated before he reached London, and immediately left the kingdom, yet the troops, or at least some of them, remained for a time in our village, probably on account of the war with France and the threats of invasion.

¹ *Cal. State Papers.*

² Diary of 2nd Earl of Oxford, *Essex Review*, 1902.

CHAPTER III

AS OTHERS SEE US

IN the summer of 1756 a Scotch lady passed through the village, on her way from Scotland to the Continent, *via* London and Harwich, and her account of England and English people is so fresh and racy I must be excused for going a little outside our own parish to meet her before she arrives to dine at the Bell.

She was Margaret Steuart, of Goodtrees, eldest daughter of the Solicitor-General for Scotland, and at twenty had married Thomas Calderwood, of Polton, an easy, indolent man in indifferent health, who, finding his wife a woman of ability and capable of conducting family and estate affairs better than he could himself, left the management of everything to her. A very good-looking woman with lively talent, she had not perhaps so much education as might have been desired, for, as her cousin Miss Mure said :

‘ Mothers could then give little attention to their girls ; domestick affairs and amusing her husband was the business of a good wife. No attention was given to accomplishments ; reading or writing well, or even spelling, was never thought of ; whoever had read Pope, Addison, or Swift was thought a learned lady.’

Nevertheless, Mrs. Calderwood’s diary of her journey shows a shrewd mother-wit and keen powers of observation, and her factorship of her husband’s estate showed marked ability, and was crowned with success. Her ideas of the management of farms and of improving the farmers’ knowledge was much in advance of her time.

‘ If the farmers were provided with books of amusement and upon their own business it would soon produce a great change. A little money bestowed by gentlemen in this way, by getting a few practical treatises upon husbandry printed and dispersed, would do much more good than if laid out for example. No country farmer thinks more of imitating his master in the expense of his improvements, than he does in furnishing his table in the same manner.’

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Ogilby's Road Map, 1722

So this lively lady starts for England, inquiring everywhere about all sorts of things, and picking up information from all she met, though she wisely remarked that, as she has to keep to the main roads and her information largely comes from people employed at the inns, it may not be correct as to what happens in more distant parts.

‘I do not think the grounds in England are in generall so rich as they have the appearance of, in many places the soil is thin, . . . and so loose that the ground above it can have very little moisture. Other grounds are clay, and often of a white mouldering kind, in which appears to be little richness, and it appears by the crops that are not extraordinary, neither is the grass for either hay or pasture, . . . The large farms in England are a loss, so far as they depopulate the country. . . .

As for the inclosing in England, it is of all the different methods, both good and bad, that can be imagined ; and that such insufficient inclosures as some are keeping in the cattell is entirely owing to the levelness of the grounds, so that an English cow does not see another spot than where she feeds, and has as little intelligence as the people ; whereas with us, there are few places which does not hang on the side of a hill, by which means the cattell sees what is above or below them, and so endeavours to get at it. . . .

Any of the English folk I got acquainted with I liked very well. They seem to be good-natured and humane ; but still there is a sort of ignorance about them with regard to the rest of the world, and that their conversation runs in a very narrow channell.

I admired the cattell much more than the people, for they seem to have the least of what we call smartness of any folks I ever saw, and totally void of all sort of curiosity, which perhaps some may think a good quality. . . .

As for their victualls they make such a work about, I cannot enter into the taste of them, or rather, I think they have no taste to enter into. The meat is juicy enough, but has so little taste, that, if you shut your eyes, you will not know by either taste or smell what you are eating. The lamb and veall look as if it had been blanched in water. The smell of dinner will never intimate that it is on the table. No such effluvia as beef and cabbadge was ever found at London. I am not surprised that the English run into the French cookry, or speak with so much pleasure of rashers of bacon or of roasted beef, for their beef and bacon are their best meat.’

And so she starts for Ingatestone :

‘We set out from Mr. Traill’s on Friday, 25th June, 1756, for Harwich all through the county of Essex ; we past through Stratfoord, Rumfoord, Brantwood, and Ingerston, where we dined. There we got a mighty chatty inteligent landlady ; she told me the most of

the busness in that country was feeding calfs for the London market. They let them suck (she had three, sucking two cows) till they are two months or ten weeks old, then people come about whose busness it is to buy them up, and they have a long-bodied waggon, divided in places, where a calf stands on its feet cross the waggon ; some waggons hold six or seven, and they pay the feeders about fifty shillings a-head for them. I found the cows did not give much more milk there than in other places, and as for the price, it can be no rule, as it is according as they have had the disease, as in that country it has been the most fatall. A cow that has recovered will give £10. There is no remedy like to be found out for it, neither is there any fixt sympton, but all take it almost in different ways. Some are quite bound up, some loose, some make no water, but all have a terrible running at nose and eyes, with such a smell that is intolerable. They are not allowed to open them, but to bury skin and all. The calfs, when feeding, are kept in the house very clean, and a large chalk stone fixed about a yard from the ground for them to lick. The cows are brought in twice a-day only, for them to suck. Nowhere in England they milk their cows more than twice a-day ; all down Essex they feed calfs, so some are carried seventy-two miles to market. The vealls are very large and fat, and sell at London at five-pence per pound. At this house I eat the best chickens I have seen ; the landlady showed me how she fed them in a little house for the purpose ; just by the waterpump there was a crib fixt about a yard from the ground ; it was spoked in the bottom, so that the filth fell through ; it had a division in the midst. In the one end were those already fat and ready for killing, which was after they had been fed for three weeks on barley meal and milk ; in the other end were those who were feeding, so as one parcell was killed, the others were ready ; they were kept perfectly clean, and their crib and trough cleaned every day, and given fresh water to drink. The ducks she fed on coarse wheat, flour and bran, mixed with broth or dish-water, and did not confine them.

She showed me her fish ponds, which were three in number ; the first was a breeding pond, it was made with no great nicety ; it shelved in from all sides, and very little fresh water was let into it, and it was full of weeds and dirty ; the other two had no great supply of fresh water, or rather so little that, if they drained them too clean, they could scarce get as much as to fill them again ; these they called feeding ponds ; these two had a communication betwixt them, cross a walk of about twelve foot broad, and about eight foot over. This place was open above, and covered only with a lid made of timber spoked, which opened to every hand like a chest. It likeways had a spoked bottom which lifted up and let down with a pully ; the use of this was that they drew the pond, and took out the best of the carp, and put them into this place betwixt the ponds, which was fenced on each side with wicker or spokes, so that the water from both ponds got in, but the fish could not get out. So

INGATESTONE, FROM CHURCHYARD

INGATESTONE STREET, WITH BELL INN

when they wanted to take any of them, they lifted up this bottom with the pully, which came up like a brander [gridiron], and all the fish on it, so took what they wanted and let it down again. They give their carp no meat, except sometimes a few grains, or that we call draff with pardon. The ponds were very weedy and thick; they clean them every year, and I imagine the reason the fish do not thrive with us in Scotland is, we supply our ponds too plentifully with fresh water. This woman kept a great many swine, which fed with the sheep; she had them ringed with a broad bit of iron, about a quarter of an inch broad, and put in like a ring in each of their nostrills, as closs as a lady's ear-ring is in her ear, and some had one in the grissel betwixt the nostrills. She told me they made very fat, just on the grass; she complained heavily of the dear rents, twenty-five shillings per aiker, inclosed ground, and wished it were uninclosed that they might have it cheaper.'

To-day we still largely supply London, but not with fat calves sent to town standing six in a wagon, though we sometimes see them tied up in a sack lying on the platform, waiting for a train to take them to some distant destination, more speedily if with less dignity; and if we have no 'vealls' to sell at fivepence a pound, we send many hundreds of gallons of milk every day to the great city, to be sold at fivepence a quart.¹

The disease Mrs. Calderwood notices was that most terrible outbreak of cattle plague (German, *Rinderpest*; Latin, *Typhus Bovis contagiosus*) which raged amongst the cattle of England and Europe from 1745 to 1756, carrying off some three million beasts. It was brought to England from Holland, either by two white calves or a bundle of diseased hides, and was especially virulent around London, as our writer notes; it was only stamped out by the action of the Privy Council, who issued an Order in March, 1756, to compel all diseased beasts to be shot and their skins destroyed.

Some of us still remember the great outbreak in 1866, and the prayer that was read in the churches; and that epidemic also was only stayed by the intervention of Government insisting on the slaughter of diseased beasts, and restricting the passage of cattle along the roads. Mr. Osborn, of St. Leonards Farm, has a vivid remembrance of the horrors of that time, and tells how many farmers were ruined by it.

¹ The price rose in the winter of 1912, in consequence of the abnormally hot and dry summer of 1911. It is now (1913) fourpence.

Mr. Thomas, of Howlett's Hall, lost every one of his herd of fifty; and Mr. Reeve, of Ingatestone Hall Farm, out of his sixty-three bullocks and cows, saved only three, and one of those that recovered lost every hair on its body. Yet St. Leonards and Wood Barns farms, both adjacent to Howlett's Hall, had no disease, and Mr. Forman, of Wood Barns, sold his milk at 2s. 6d. the barn gallon—a welcome boon to him, as his affairs were not very prosperous just then. We who remember that disastrous time are not prepared to grumble when, on the slightest outbreak of disease in any herd to-day, Government steps in and takes stringent measures to prevent it from spreading.

For the year after March, 1912, the price per barn gallon was 1s. 4d. in summer and 1s. 8d. in winter. The barn gallon measures eight quarts instead of the ordinary four; the farmer pays rail-carriage and takes the risk of the churn being upset in transit.

The landlady at the Bell would not get a good meadow near the village for 25s. per acre to-day. She would more likely have to pay three pounds for it.

Our traveller does not mention the name of the inn at which she dined, but it was evidently the Bell, as this is the only one of the very numerous post-houses that has a streamlet running through its premises to supply the little fish-ponds.

Let us follow her a little further:

‘This county of Essex, which reaches all the way to Harwich, is a very rich country, & more pleasing to the eye, as it has severall rising grounds in it, and towns & houses set up to view as it were. Its produce is mostly wheat, barley, and beans, and rapeseed, which they change alternately with fallow. This looks to be a very rich, plentiful country, and is reckoned one of the best in England. Its whole produce goes to the London market; and I do not think it is so populous as I would expect. If you see one English town or village you see them all; they are very neat and pleasant. The inns in all this country are built (round a court yard) of timber, and open galleries from whence most of the rooms enter. . . .

Their roads are good indeed, and their horses and machines light, and the miles about London are, I am very sure, not above 1,000 yards, whereas they should be 1,750; besides the levelness of the country makes travelling much quicker. They are very carefull in driving their horses, for, on the smallest ascent, they go quite slow,

and will tell you they are going up hill. I could not learn what weight their great waggons carried, none of them knowing anything about it; but, by the number of horses they yoke, it must be a great deal, otherwise they carry at too great an expence: they yoke seven and eight horses. Some have four wheels and others two; these last must be very exactly ballanced, not to overburthen the horse, who has the weight on his back, and this sort of carriage is only practicable where there is no down-hill road; for, if this carriage was put off its ballance in coming down, it would crush the horses, or, if going up, it would lift them up in the air.

It is surprizing how much nonsense I have heard spoken by folks who would introduce English customs into Scotland, without considering the difference of the two countrys: I must own I saw very little new to me, but what I could plainly see was calculated for the particular situation of the country, and could never answer for generall use. It has always been my opinion, that the fault-finders are the folks who want judgement, and not the people whose practice they quarell, for time and experience has taught every part of every country to follow the method most agreeable to their soil and situation.

We slept the night at Witham. We set out early, and breakfasted at Colchester. We were attended at breakfast by a drawer, whom I questioned according to custom, about the town and the country, and from whom I received much more satisfaction than common, upon which I was going to declare him the smartest Englishman I had seen, when, unfortunately for England, he turned out to be a Frenchman transplanted young.'

Happily for us at Ingatestone, the chatty landlady at the Bell had kept the traveller so fully occupied with farming information, that there was no time for inquiring into nationality, or our intelligent Ingatestone woman might have confessed herself a Welshwoman, for one of the inns was then kept by Thomas Jones, not at all a local name, and many Welsh came with their militia regiments.

'We came to Manningtree, where, for the satisfaction of my Lady Buchan, I must not omitt that I drank the best cyder ever I tasted, and it was directly the same taste as what she made at Goodtrees. Hers was so much of the taste of the apple, that I did not believe it was the true cyder till I tasted this.'

Manningtree does not make cider to-day, but a little further down, in Suffolk, it is still manufactured at Stonham Aspell, and perhaps Mrs. Calderwood's came from there.

The Harwich boats were of course sailing ones in those

days, for it was long before steamers were invented. Mrs. Calderwood's account shows us how popular and frequented the route was, and incidentally how many people must have passed through our village.

'The paquets are very small, with two very neat cabins with eight beds in each of them. It is surprising the constant intercourse of passengers alone (for they carry no goods), there is betwixt England and Holland, for each of these paquets makes twelve hundred pounds per annum to the captain, who imposes sadly on the passengers. I suppose it raises as much to the publick, for we paid twelve shillings for our passage, and a shilling to the clerk ; this should be for our passage, but then the captain has the cabin bedded at his expence, and if you take a bed, you pay a guinea, and if not, the half ; this makes the captain be sure to keep you a night on sea, though if the wind be good, it may be made in twelve hours ; you take provisions on board, or can have it from the steward of the ship.'

Her husband, at the beginning of the voyage, took possession of the state cabin, where he lay snug and comfortable with the door shut. She describes how the company succumbed one after another until the boat had to cast anchor because of the tide :

'Which was no sooner done than every one fell a wameling as the ship did, and there was such sighing and groaning in the two cabins, as I never heard the like. There was such a stink below, that I durst not go down, so sat alone till it was almost dark ; then down I must go, and into bed as soon as possible, very very squeamish, I could not keep my feet in the cabin. And it was such an operation betwixt John and me, to get off some of my clothes, and to get on my night-clothes, that had any body been inclined to laugh, they might have had a good subject. I at last got to bed, but such a night I think I never will forget. At the upper end of the cabin, a bed lyes across the stern, in that lay the Swiss dished up like a boiled salmond, (for it has no cover over it,) sick to death ; on the right hand of it lay the almost expiring dancer ; on the left lay the old lady ; at her feet was Miss, making a deplorable lamentation ; at her feet lay I as quietly as I could ; on the side with the dancer lay Mr. Webb ; John Rattray was laid before my bed with his head on a clog bag and his feet into the state room.' (John was her manservant.)

The Harwich route is as popular to-day as it was 160 years ago, but its frequenters no longer stay to dine at our inns, though from the top of Fryerning Hill we watch their brilliantly

lighted trains speed through our parish, or hear the thunder of their wheels as we sit on a summer evening in the garden of Furze Hall, or wander mothing in the dusk, in the yet more distant fields of Howlett's Hall.¹

¹ The extracts given above are taken from the *Coltness Collected Letters*, published by the Maitland Club, 1842. Thanks to Mrs. Hodson for introducing me to this book.

CHAPTER IV

TWO QUEENS AND A PRIZE FIGHT

SEPTEMBER 8, 1761, must have found our village in great excitement. George II, who had frequently passed through Ingatestone on his way to and from Harwich on his visits to Hanover, was dead, and the young King's mother, the Princess of Wales, decided that he should marry a German princess, and selected Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The young man appeared to have little to say in the matter, otherwise one would imagine that he would have desired either more beauty or more wits than his bride possessed. In August, 1761, Lord Harcourt arrived at Strelitz to ask for her hand, and in a few days everything was arranged, and, in spite of the sudden death of her mother, Charlotte started for England. The gilded yacht awaited her at Stade ; here the plain German girl met the beautiful Duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, and, as she kissed them, inquired, ' Are all Englishwomen as beautiful as you ? ' On Monday, the 24th of August, she started, her waiting-women still in confusion, neither packing nor dressing completed, one English maid carrying an immense green taffety bag, containing the dress the princess was to wear when she met the King, and she showed this to every one who wished to see it. For a fortnight the yacht was blown to and fro across the North Sea, and as no news of it arrived in England great anxiety was felt. At length it sighted Harwich, where Lord Anson thought it better to land his precious charge at once, and not risk beating on to the Thames for the sake of the State welcome arranged for her at Greenwich. So early on Monday, the 7th of September, they landed at Harwich and proceeded to Witham, where they passed the night at the house of Lord Abercorn, and the next day proceeded to London.

Great must have been the turmoil in our village on those

two days. First the galloping of messengers to say the Princess had safely arrived, and then the galloping back again of the crowds anxious to get a view of the new Queen; for nearly every horse and chaise in London had set out for the Essex road the moment her arrival at Harwich was known. If our natives turned out expecting to see beauty, they must have been sadly disappointed. Her contemporaries describe her thus: 'Not a beauty and not tall; slight, rather pretty figure, large mouth, bright and sparkling eyes, even teeth, and really beautiful hair.' So says her faithful waiting-woman, Mrs. Papendick; others, that she looked sensible, cheerful, genteel; 'not a vulgar but an elegant plainness'; if not ugly, at least ordinary. As she got older the plainness was said by some to be less noticeable, her Chamberlain saying, 'the bloom of her ugliness is going off.' Yet the portrait of her in the second volume of Mrs. Papendick's *Memoirs* is much less pleasing than the earlier one, showing a heavy and unpleasant face. On this sultry September Tuesday, the Princess left Witham early, on her way to meet her bridegroom. Sitting in the coach with the two Duchesses opposite to her, she bowed gracefully to the people. The green taffety bag had now been emptied, and she was dressed in English fashion—a fly cap with rich laced lappets, a stomacher ornamented with diamonds, and a gold brocade suit with a white ground. Arrived at Chelmsford she was presented with a bunch of lavender, for which at that time the town seemed to have been noted; and then proceeded on her way, passing through Ingatestone in the early forenoon, for she was due to lunch at Romford and arrive in the capital by daylight, through the unimposing eastern approach, but amid crowds shouting a hearty welcome.¹ The mouths of to-day's innkeepers may well water, as they think of the guineas and crowns that poured into the village from the pockets of the eager sight-seers. It is doubtful whether our village ever saw Charlotte again. She never returned to her native land, and though she and George III paid a visit in 1778 to Lord Petre at Thorndon Hall, it is not likely that she came so far as Ingatestone.

¹ See *Hanoverian Queens*, by A. D. Greenwood, ii.

In August, 1763, came Dr. Johnson through the village, on his way from London to Harwich, whither he was travelling to see his young friend Boswell off upon a foreign tour. The inn at which they dined with their fellow travellers may well have been at Ingatestone, with the Roman Catholic Lord Petre's house close by ; for, on resuming their journey, the fat elderly gentlewoman who was with them fell to inveighing violently against the Romanists and the horrors of the Inquisition, thereby causing the worthy Doctor, with his natural perversity, to take up the cudgels in defence of the Inquisition.

Twenty-six years later the curtain lifts for a moment, and in 1789 we find a large and distinguished company in the yard of the Swan Inn, the house occupied for many years by Dr. Hodson. Prize fights were as popular then as now, and were much patronized by royalty and all the young bloods, and a great match had been arranged between George Ingleston, the brewer of Enfield, and the celebrated John Jackson, who trained the Prince of Wales, Lord Byron, and the young swells of the day, in the noble art of defence and offence.

The inn yard was boarded over for the occasion, and rain having fallen early in the day the boards were extremely slippery. On setting to, the betting was even, but the superior skill of Jackson was evident in the first round, when he brought down the brewer, but in the third round Jackson slipped, and fell with such violence that he dislocated his ankle, and broke the small bone of his leg. He offered to finish the fight tied down in a chair, if George the brewer would do the same, but George, not unwisely, declined the sporting offer, and retired with the glory and the stakes. The holder of the stakes was the porter of Marlborough House.¹

The love of the sport lingered far on into the next century, for an old lady (Mrs. March), lately living on Beggar Hill, has told me how in the old days, when she was a girl in service in the village, prize-fighters would come and fight their matches

¹ H. D. Miles, *Pugilistica*, vol. i, p. 125.

in the inn yards, and then go on to some other town to do the same.

Another well-known character passed through our village occasionally on his journeys to Norwich and Colchester, but I find no record of John Wesley preaching here, or in the immediate neighbourhood. The Essex and East Anglian natives were of too phlegmatic a nature to rise to the emotional preaching of Wesley, for we find him in his old age lamenting:

‘1790. Oct. I went to Colchester and still found matter of humiliation. The Society was lessened, and cold enough; the spirit of Methodism quite gone both from the preachers and the people. I trust God will at length build up the waste places.’

It was curious it should be so, as the eastern counties were a stronghold of the early Reformation movement, and furnished many martyrs in those stormy times.

But he appreciated our scenery, and says in 1758, ‘I rode through an extremely pleasant and fruitful country to Colchester’. Incidentally, we learn from his *Journal* how excellent was the posting, for on his return from Holland, in 1783, he reaches Harwich about nine, rests awhile, and then procures a carriage which brought him to London by eleven at night.

The world-renowned Daniel Defoe came through Essex in 1722, and thus described us and our neighbours:

‘Brentwood, Ingatestone, and even Chelmsford itself have very little to be said of them, but that they are large thoroughfare towns, full of good inns, and chiefly maintained by the excessive multitude of carriers and passengers which are constantly passing this way to London, with droves of cattle, provisions, and manufactures for London.’

The name of Catchpole, which occurs frequently in the Fryerning register towards the end of the eighteenth century, recalls the romantic story of Margaret Catchpole, better known perhaps fifty years ago, when her history was fresh from the pen of the Rev. R. Cobbold.

Margaret was the daughter of a horseman, and from her earliest years displayed an extraordinary love of horses, general ability, and high spirits. The many vicissitudes of her early life, her presence of mind that saved three lives on

different occasions, do not concern us here, but may be read with great advantage in her *Life*, recently reissued in various cheap editions ; for the book gives a wonderful picture of life in those days, when death or transportation was the penalty for almost every crime.

May, 1797, found Margaret in the service of Mr. Cobbold, of St. Margaret's Green, Ipswich, a tall, slender girl of twenty-four, with dark hair and eyes, much respected by her mistress and deeply attached to her lover, a young Essex smuggler. By the machinations of a disappointed lover and rascally fellow, John Cook by name, who desired her ruin, she was persuaded to steal her master's crop-eared strawberry roan from the stable by night, in order to ride with it and meet her lover in town. The old coachman, who slept above, was deaf and sleeping heavily, having only just brought his master back from dining at Stratford St. Mary. Dressed in the old man's stable clothes, Margaret mounted the spirited horse and was ready to go ; with instructions from Cook to sell the horse for one hundred guineas at Chelmsford if possible, or if too risky to do so there, then to take him on to the Bull in Aldgate, London. And so at a sweeping pace she started for town.

Crop was not a horse easily overlooked ; sixteen hands, he carried himself as proudly as if he had been trained to exhibit his beauty, and with his high action, proud crest, and easy paces, he was not easily forgotten by any who had seen him. Soon after passing Colchester the guard of the Ipswich Mail noticed the horse, and its rider with trousers worked up to the knee. 'That's Mr. Cobbold's horse, and there's something amiss or the horse is stolen.' On his arrival at Ipswich at five a.m. a note was sent to Mr. Cobbold to inquire if all were right, and the theft was at once discovered.

Margaret, meanwhile, was riding hard to London. Sure that she would be pursued, she only stayed a short time at Mark's Tey to bait the horse, and at five o'clock was on the road again. She reached Chelmsford too early for it to be safe to try to sell the horse, so she rode straight through the town, on down our high road, through our peaceful little

village in the early morn—stared at, no doubt, by the ostlers of some of the many inns, who were well used to seeing travellers of all conditions pass at all hours, but would quickly note so fine a horse, bestriden by so unkempt a rider. Perhaps amongst the Catchpoles who lived in the place may have been some of her relations, whom she would not be anxious to recognize that day, and she would ride through the village at increased speed. Any way, she certainly rode faster the latter part of the way, and arrived at the Bull in Aldgate at half-past nine. Meanwhile, in Ipswich, handbills about the thief were quickly printed and sent to London by the nine o'clock coaches. To London also went the coachman and a Mr. Spink, travelling in post-chaise, inquiring at every toll-house and posting-station for news of the runaway. At Chelmsford they were nearly thrown off the scent and directed to Maldon, but as they were leaving the yard of the Black Boy, a rider from London came in, who reported meeting near Romford a strawberry roan, with crop ears, and the finest-shaped horse he had ever seen. So the post-chaise and pursuers also came along that old high road, and down the narrow village street, and so on to London; where they were soon met with the news that the roan and its rider had been discovered and captured, for as Margaret was in the very act of receiving eighty guineas from a dealer, the Ipswich handbills were brought into the inn yard and she stood detected.

July 6th saw her once more pass through Ingatestone, on her way to Ipswich—no longer riding the gay roan, but a miserable prisoner, with death staring her in the face. On August 9th, at Bury, she pleaded Guilty, and in accordance with the barbarous custom of the time was sentenced to be hanged. With the reprieve that came at the last moment, substituting transportation for death, with her long sojourn in Ipswich gaol, her escape from it to join her lover, his death and her recapture, and the horrible sentence of death passed upon her a second time, Ingatestone has nothing to do; but once more as a prisoner she must have passed through our village on her way to Portsmouth and the convict ship.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the great Revolution

in France, the upheaval of many nations, and the beginning of the long Napoleonic wars, which only ended with the battle of Waterloo, and the exile of Napoleon to St. Helena. Those wars affected the dwellers in our village in a very personal way, and were no mere matter of talk and gossip only to the inhabitants.

England was constantly in lively danger of an invasion from over the sea, and no county was more likely to be the scene of it than Essex, with its flat Thames banks and northern port of Harwich; therefore, in the towns and villages on this East Road were concentrated large bodies of militia, ready to march north if the enemy attacked Harwich, or south if they were heard of on the Thames. And our Ingatestone-Fryerning village was for many years full of them, horse and foot-soldiers alike, as the registers of both churches show. The new Golf Links at Widford are on the site of a fortified camp that must have been made at this period: the foundations of some of the buildings still remain, the steep ditch and high half-circle embankment, together with the old gun-stands; a little beyond are the old white cottages, close to Galleywood, where the soldiers' wives lived.¹ Margaretting, also, has some old houses on the high road, where I believe the soldiers were also quartered: for many years a large number of military must have been in our neighbourhood.

Here then were quartered the North Lincoln, the Hunts. Militia, the 20th, 30th, 59th, and 119th Regiments of Foot, the Pembrokehire and Radnorshire Militia, and the Ayrshire Light Dragoons (or Fencible Cavalry): with their picturesque uniform and their camp exercises, they must have enlivened our road. Some of them took to themselves wives from the lasses of the parish, and had children; some of them lie in our churchyards.

One charming young traveller came holiday-making along our road early in the nineteenth century, and has left us her youthful impressions of the inns and the soldiers, in letters written to her home-staying sisters.²

¹ I am indebted for this information to Mr. W. Kortright.

² A. S. Nichols, 'Journey of a very young lady's tour from Canonbury

My DEAR SISTER MARY,

That the French folks are coming
I'm told by the drumming
Which constantly rings in my ears;
But, as you dont hear them,
I beg you'll not fear them,
They'll be killed by our brave Volunteers.

Then to Cromer we go,
In spite of the foe;
Let him come with his troops if he can:
Our sailors will bang him,
Our soldiers will hang him,
So no more from
Your dear sister Anne.

(The excursion was changed to Aldborough.)

My DEAR SISTER P. . . .

In describing my Travels I've much to relate
And I'm sure you will kindly allow me to prate:
As soon as the coachman had fasten'd the door
Upon Father and Sister, and me, and one more,
Down Houndsditch we drove, and by Whitechapel church,
And our London friends now fairly left in the lurch.

At Romford some breakfast I hop'd to obtain,
But all my fond wishes, alas! were in vain.
At Ingatestone, thanks to a good natur'd host,
We had plenty of tea, bread and butter, and toast.
Droves of geese and fat calves in abundance we saw:
But of these I'll not talk, lest some inference you draw:
Some donkies we met, and of lambs too some dozens;
The last I should not be asham'd to call cousins.

At Chelmsford we passed a most excellent Gaol,
A new Church, and Townhall—and we heard of good Ale.
We saw two large townships, call'd Braintree and Bocking,
Where the tale of distress was of late years most shocking.

(She leaves our road, and returns from Aldborough to Harwich.)

But now we're at Harwich, and thankful am I,
Our Inn's the Three Cups and our dinner draws nigh,
But first for a walk to survey this old Borough.

to Alborough and back by Harwich, Colchester, &c., Sept. 13-21, 1804.
Of this little Journal not more than 24 copies are printed for private use.
Nichols & Co., 1804.

The Dockyard examin'd, we look'd at the ships,
 Which the builders had lately begun on the slips ;
 The batteries, and each gun, with attention explor'd,
 With shot powder and ball, most abundantly stor'd.
 On the opposite shore Landguard Fort boldly stands,
 Well secur'd by Britannia's invincible bands.
 Long, long may our Monarch the honour retain
 Of being King of the Islands that govern the Main !

But from these cheering scenes we must think of retreating ;
 For the air is so keen, it reminds us of eating,
 And I doubt not by this time (our landlord's so steady)
 That the lobsters and soals and the beef-steak are ready.

P.S. Thursday afternoon—

After making a hasty but hearty repast,
 We are quitting this place, and propose travelling fast.

Our first stage is to Mistley ; we stop at the Thorn,
 And shall see the fine sights which that village adorn.

(She reaches Colchester, mentions Morant's *History*, &c.)

As our stay was so short I shall only remark,
 That the shops blaz'd with light, tho' the evening was dark :
 The lamps were so splendid, the street was so wide,
 It resembled the taking a peep in Cheapside.

The commander in chief, Sir James Craig, here resides,
 And many a gallant old soldier besides.

This we plainly perceived as thro' Lexden we drove,

Where the beautiful heath much resembles a grove,

The white tents which adorn and illumine the plain

Many thousands of excellent warriors contain ;

And from Galleywood's heights, I am told, many more

Are prepar'd their undaunted battalions to pour.

Such real strength and such spirit in short there appears,

The most timid may safely dismiss all their fears.

Let Napoleon establish his empire with slaves,

He shall not domineer o'er the sons of the waves,

Our brave legions will check the proud tyrant's career ;

He will soon bite the dust if he dares to come here.

.

Travelers frequently boast of the charms of an inn,
 But the Blue Posts at Witham's the best I have seen ;

The rooms are so clean, so delicious the diet,

The landlord so civil, so spruce and so quiet,

The servants all round so desirous to please,

That you find yourself here most completely at ease.

So we supp'd and we slept, and we breakfasted too,

And then bid to Witham a parting adieu.

We left Chelmsford, and Ing'stone and Brentwood in haste
For my father said, 'Susan we've no time to waste !'
And at Brookstreet I saw, far across a wide field,
A beautiful village and church, call'd South Weald.
Then we rapidly jolted through Harestreet to Romford,
Where sick passengers often apply for some comfort.
Passing Chadwell, and Ilford, and Stratford and Bow,
All places of which I but little can know,
I to Can'bury have hasten'd my news to impart ;
And am yours my dear sister with hand and with heart.

Sixty years had passed since the plain Princess Charlotte journeyed over our road on that sultry autumn day, on her way to marry King George III, and again the village sees a Royal Procession pass ; not one of youth and mirth, with promise of happy days, but the sad, solemn passing of an injured Queen, carried to the vault of her family in distant Brunswick. Queen Caroline's early history did not touch us here. I cannot find that she ever passed down our road whilst alive ; unlike her mother-in-law, she came from Cuxhaven direct to Greenwich, and did not land at Harwich. Married by George, Prince of Wales, not for affection, but as the only way of getting his debts paid by the House of Commons, which insisted that the heir to the throne should marry, the young girl, not yet seventeen, arrived to find herself an undesired wife ; and from the first day the Prince had no hesitation in showing his dislike to the spouse who had been forced upon him. Calumnies were showered upon her, and her own conduct was often indiscreet ; her famous trial took place in 1820, and the enthusiasm her cause and acquittal aroused amongst the populace was largely owing to the unpopularity of the King. But her triumph was short-lived ; a few short months had barely passed when she fell ill (appendicitis ?), and within a week she was dead (August 7th, 1821).

It does not concern our story to recite the wild scenes that took place as the funeral procession passed through London. The King ordered that it should not proceed through the City, but the populace insisted that it should ; the troops fired on the crowd, and they retaliated by throwing stones ; and by barricading all the side streets the mob succeeded in their

aim, and the cortège was forced to take its way through the City. At 8.30 p.m. the procession arrived at Romford, where it halted at the White Hart Inn for the needful refreshment of the travellers. Some of the Queen's household, faint with fatigue and excitement, desired to stay a few hours for rest, but the King's orders were that the coffin should rest in Chelmsford Church that night; so soon after eleven p.m. the procession was again on the move, some of the suite remaining at Romford until the early morning. Alderman Wood, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Wilde (the late Queen's executors) accompanied the body to Chelmsford. 'The Horse Guards (blue), which had attended the hearse from London, were at Romford relieved by a party of the 4th Light Dragoons.'¹

'Of these a small guard of honour was placed around the hearse; the remainder of the troop paraded up and down the street in its vicinity. . . . At a quarter before twelve the bugle sounded, and the procession moved forward precisely in the same order as it left the Metropolis, and headed by a deputation of the inhabitants: but instead of the crape-wreathed wand, each man now bore a lighted flambeau. We have seldom witnessed a scene of more profound melancholy than that which presented itself at this moment. The evening was at this time most beautiful, not a single cloud was above the horizon. The moon hung serenely majestic, almost in the zenith, throwing her peaceful, silvery light over the moist green landscape. The long sable train, which to the eye appeared almost interminable, winding slowly along, led on by the gleam of a hundred flambeaux; the arms of the soldiery glittering in the moonbeams; the nodding plumes, and heraldic emblazonments, which adorned that hearse wherein reposed alone, and in the stillness of death, all that now remained on earth of an illustrious Princess; the groups of hushed spectators scattered here and there along the sides of the road; and the dead silence of the night, broken only by the audible weeping of here and there a female looker-on; the low, broken whisperings of the men; the scarcely heard clank of arms and trampling of horse, and the mournful pealing of the distant bells, formed altogether a sublime moral picture, forcing unearthly musings on the dullest observer. At about a mile from the town, at the bottom of a richly-wooded descent, the deputation of the inhabitants open to the right and left, and arranged themselves on either side the road with their flambeaux, uncovering their heads as the corpse approached, and extinguishing their flambeaux the moment it had passed. There was something highly affecting in this little

¹ J. H. Adolphus (?), *Last Days of Queen Caroline*, pp. 131 fol.

ceremony. The cavalcade now moved on at a brisk pace, and passed through the villages of Brentwood and Ingatestone, without any incident occurring worthy of note, and it entered the town of Chelmsford just as the morning began to dawn.

During the few short stoppages which the funeral made on the road, a great number of very decent people pressed around the hearse, anxious to be allowed to touch the coffin. The wish of many of them was complied with, and they laid their hands on the end of the coffin with the utmost reverence, and departed apparently highly gratified.'

Miss Parkin tells how, in her young days, the old folk would often talk about the passage of Queen Caroline's funeral; and a lady who lived many years in Ingatestone remembers how her grandmother described the procession, with its soldiers and its torches; from which it would appear that either all the flambeaux were not extinguished at Romford, or that the inhabitants of Ingatestone formed another guard of honour, as the dead Queen passed in the moonlight through their little town. Our early parish accounts are unhappily lost, and we have no record whether either of our churches tolled their bells.

Arrived at Chelmsford, the undertaker's men took the coffin into the church and laid it on trestles; tapers were then lighted. Neither the Rector (the Rev. Mr. Warde) nor the Curate (the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson) were in attendance. The public were not permitted to enter, though great numbers had come into the town to pay their last respects to Queen Caroline. The windows of the church were besieged with multitudes eagerly prying for a sight of the coffin. The parents and grandparents of some of our inhabitants and neighbours were amongst the children lifted up to look through the windows and see the coffin. By eleven a.m. the cortège was again on its way to Colchester, where the night was spent, the body resting in St. Peter's Church, but only after an unseemly dispute, the undertaker declaring that he had the King's command to hasten to Harwich with all speed. Here in the church the executors affixed the coffin-plate—'Deposited, Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England,' which the undertaker tore off in the night. In the morning the

journey was continued to Harwich, where ship was taken to Germany: and there in the vault of the Cathedral of Brunswick, surrounded by her kindred, lies Queen Caroline. Her coffin, with a second plate bearing a long inscription, is still to be seen by the passing tourist, covered in crimson velvet with much neat gold ornamentation, the one splash of colour amongst the sombre black coffins which contain the remains of the Black Brunswicker and so many of her warlike relatives.

CHAPTER V

PASSERS BY

LET us wind up our history of the highway with a glance at the road itself and its more everyday users.

The roads in early days were mostly used for horse and foot traffic, but when in 1659 stage-coaches began to run, their gradually increasing number caused an improvement in the condition of the roads, for what was passable on horseback was not so in a coach. Nevertheless, though many Acts about the maintenance of the roads are to be found upon the pages of our old statute-books, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the main roads were universally put into good order, and turnpikes everywhere established to collect tolls for the cost of their upkeep. The turnpike near the Red Lion, Margaretting, and the one near Shenfield, are still remembered by many inhabitants.

But though the high roads were improved, the by-ways and ordinary parish roads were still almost impassable, and great indignation was caused about 1773 by an Act forbidding the use of more than three horses with a loaded wagon in by-roads, under a penalty of £5, part of which went to the informer. It was soon repealed, on the ground that it was impossible for farmers living at a distance from the turnpike-road to get their produce to market, unless they were allowed the use of four or five horses with their loaded wagons.

For a long time it was only the main thoroughfares that were metalled, the local and parish roads being often green tracks, such as Maple Tree and other lanes still remain, and verý gradually these roads were metalled. The history of the making up of Green Street is probably the history of many of our local roads. Early in the nineteenth century Green Street was only metalled as far as Green Street Farm ; the rest was a

grassy track. Then Mr. Forman took Little Wood Barns Farm, and lived in the Black Cottage in the road near by. He was road surveyor (every parish had one at that time), and finding it very inconvenient to have no decent road to his place he persuaded the authorities to metal the road from Green Street Farm to his cottage; this being happily accomplished he married Miss Windley, of Wood Barns, and desirous of having easy access to his father-in-law, he again used his persuasive powers on the authorities, who thereupon metalled the road to Furze Hall corner, to the great convenience not only of the departed surveyor but of the modern inhabitants.

For many years Fryerning Lane must have been only a bridle- or footway; the narrowness of the road and the absence of any roadside waste point to its late development. Local tradition says it was cut and made for the carrying of bricks for Ingatestone tower from Brick Clamp Field. It is not probable that the bricks of Ingatestone tower were made there when good brick earth was to be found close to the church, but the tradition may rightly locate the period at which the road was first cut; it was probably only a bridle-track before.

The German Count Kielmansegge, who landed at Harwich in 1761, was much struck with the excellence of our highways:

‘The roads are always kept in good order, with coarse or fine gravel or sand; and the slightest unevenness is mended at once; the broad wheels of the carts and vans, which measure nine inches wide, act as rollers to level the ruts cut by other carriages.’¹

He gives a striking description of the amount of traffic there was constantly along our road. The quantity of carriages already taken that day by travellers to London compelled him to take a landau for himself, his three friends and two servants, for which he paid five guineas; his other servants and luggage had to wait until the next day, when they followed by special stage-coach, for which he paid six guineas. As the weather was fine they kept the landau open and enjoyed and admired the fine scenery in comfort; ‘it was invariably splendid the whole way, and was a source of delight to us’; and the large milestones, with their clearly-cut figures, attracted much

¹ *Essex Review*, vol. xiii., 254.

attention. The number of guests dining at Colchester delayed them two hours in getting their dinner, but both there and at Ingatestone they got fresh horses without trouble.

'They are ready when you arrive, and no country is so well arranged for comfort and rapid travelling as this.' 'The whole of the country is not unlike a well kept garden, you pass a succession of towns, boroughs [villages], country houses, meadows between hedges, and fields in which all kinds of cattle are grazing.'

And our own little village, which he calls only a borough, was much commended for its neat houses, and the very comfortable night the travellers passed there.

But in spite of all the care taken with the road, tragedies sometimes happened upon it, as our Ingatestone register records with its entry made six years after the German Count's visit:

'1766. A person (man) unknown was drowned by accident in the Great Road, near the Wash as appeared by the Cors Warrant July 26th.'

The Wash was probably the little stream that now runs under the roads by Heybridge Farm. I am uncertain at what date the bridge was made, probably early in the nineteenth century, as Mr. Osborn tells me it was done before his time, but he had heard of its making, and how the traffic was diverted to a side-track through the fields whilst it was building.

Heybridge Farm was at that time a tannery, and is marked in the maps of 1774 and 1804 as 'Tan Yard'. The old bark-mill still remains.

As years went on the traffic increased, until at the time that the railway was opened no less than fifty-two coaches passed through every day, besides a multitude of post-chaises. The coaches were speedy, for in 1833 the *Defiance* Light Post Coach left Colchester 1.45 p.m., arrived at Aldgate 7.30 and Piccadilly 8.15 p.m. The fares in the winter were: Insides, 12s.; outsides, 6s. The *Times*, which apparently was rather slower, only charged 10s. inside and 5s. outside.¹ The G.E.R. fare to Colchester to-day is 9s. 9d. first and 4s. 4½d. third.

¹ From an advertisement in the *Essex Standard*, 1833, lent me by Mrs. King.

The carriers' carts were also a great feature in those days, conveying not only goods of all kinds, but those persons who could not afford the more expensive stage-coach. As well as the Essex carriers, there were also the carriers' carts from Norfolk and Suffolk to and from London. We read in John Taylor's *Carriers Cosmographie* (1637), 'The waines of Ingerstone in Essex doe come every Wednesday to the King's Armes in Leadenhall Street.' And again in 1770, 'J. Church, Chelmsford, conveys goods at 1s. cwt. to London,' and the Colchester New Post Coach advertises that it takes persons at 3*d.* per mile, four insides only, and no out, and 20 lb. of luggage free to each passenger. The number of the travellers must have made it a safer road to travel on than many of the roads leading to London, for it does not seem to have borne so evil a repute for highwaymen and robbery as did the Great North Road through Barnet, or the Epping road through the Forest, or the East Road through Enfield Highway.

Amongst the rapid coaches, swift post-chaises, and heavy corn-wagons, little light carts drawn by dogs were constantly to be seen bringing cotton goods from Manchester and elsewhere, and conveying groceries and other goods to the outlying farms, even within the memory of many persons still living;¹ and if the dogs were of a suitable breed, well fed and not over-driven, the life was a very good one for them, as we may see for ourselves in the many little dog-carts still used on the Continent.

From time immemorial Essex has been famed as a corn-growing county; in the days of the Romans and onward it exported great quantities, but at the period we have now reached the increasing population of London and its neighbourhood provided it with customers nearer home, and much of the wheat from its golden fields passed along the road in those wide-wheeled wagons on its way to the metropolis. It was also a noted sheep-rearing county, and the wool was largely worked up in the neighbourhood into bays, says,² and

¹ At Enfield a leading draper told me that all the cotton goods were brought by dogs in his father's time from Manchester. It was made illegal to use them for draught in 1855.

² *Ess. Rev.* x, xi.

cloth, affording much employment to the natives in those days of cottage industries, before the advent of machines caused the congregating of herds of human beings in the factories of smoky towns. Wat Tyler's rebellion, we have seen, was joined by a strong body of men from Ging, Bokking, and Ging-atte-stone, led by a weaver of Billericay, and the name of the little inn near Fryerning Church, the Woolpack (*see* p. 330), recalls the trade in wool of bygone days, grown perhaps on the rich meadows of our parishes and carried thence on the backs of pack-horses.

Not only was the road used for horses and vehicles, but thousands of head of cattle, shod with little iron shoes, passed along it every year, for Ingatestone is often mentioned in old books as having a noteworthy market on Wednesday for cattle, besides its annual fair on December 1st, held in Fairfield: and it was resorted to by London dealers, who found there not only Essex beasts, but also great numbers from Suffolk. And did not old Fuller, in his *Book of Worthies*, quote the saying, 'An Essex calf at Christmas is worth a Cumberland cow'? Ogilvy's Road-map, 1722 (which I reproduce), as well as Morant, says the Fair was held on November 20, which is a likely date as being St. Edmund's day, the patron saint of the church. The date was altered when the New Style came in.

The great Wednesday market seems to have gone by the beginning of the nineteenth century, but large droves of cattle from Suffolk and elsewhere still lay here every Friday night on their way to London, which they were due to reach on Sunday, and as many of them fell 'road lame', the local butchers frequented the Market-place on Friday night, to buy cheap for their home trade.

With the cattle and sheep were many droves of pigs on their way to feed hungry London, and in the autumn great flocks of geese added to the dust and excitement upon our great highway. The wide roadside wastes which are such a feature of our neighbourhood, both on main and local roads, are a reminder of the necessary space that was wanted for the passing of swift traffic through the multitude of live stock

travelling along the road, which prevented here the cruel enclosure of the wastes which took place in many districts.

And the turkeys that were driven up to London before Christmas must not be forgotten, with their own independent ideas upon the correct hours of travel ; if dusk came on before they reached the shelter of their appointed destination, they would themselves select a tree in the neighbourhood of the road, and with one great flight suddenly ascend into it, and there roost for the night and decline to descend, despite the imprecations and blandishments of their drivers.

All this traffic of vehicles, quadrupeds, bipeds, could not pass along the road without raising a mighty cloud of dust, and those old enough to remember it have told me that though we complain to-day of the dust of the motors, it does not equal that of the old days before the railway took possession of the London traffic, leaving only the scanty relic that we have to-day, of cattle on a Friday going to the Chelmsford local market, and the poultry in their baskets on Wednesday going to Romford. The last ten years have also seen the decay and almost entire disappearance of the annual Fair on December 1st, which was such a feature in the life of the village, when Welsh cattle and ponies were driven to our Fair-field, together with hundreds of cattle from other places, and the booths and the merry-makers filled the village, amused the inhabitants, and brought profit to the innkeepers. The old saying—

Harlow Fair and Ingatestone,
Then the Welshman may go home—

will soon be amongst the things forgotten.¹ The change did not take place at once; the live-stock traffic remained on the road after the stage-coaches had departed, and only gradually disappeared.²

The frequent notice of the burial of vagrants and travellers dying at Ingatestone Hall barn or stable would point to there having been some recognized refuge for wayfarers, though I

¹ This saying must date from 1752, when the New Style was introduced. Harlow fair remained on the 28th of November, but Ingatestone, like many other places, was advanced 11 days.

² For much of the above information I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Osborn, who well remember the turkeys, and the dog carts.

can at present find no record of such. The site of Ingatestone Hall, the Park, and much surrounding land, was in the possession of the Abbess of St. Mary Barking until the time of Henry VIII, but though she would be an ordinary absentee landlord she may have made some provision for doles and alms ; and possibly Sir William Petre, when founding the almshouses for natives, provided also a refuge and a dole for the numerous wayfarers who so constantly used the road, for the large barn at the Hall was evidently used by poor travellers and served the purpose of the modern casual ward. Throughout the Ingatestone register we read such notes as these :

- 1725. John, the son of a traveller (born in a barn at Ingatestone Hall).
- 1680. Katherine, dd. of Abraham Bannister, a wandering broom-man, delivered at Ingatestone Hall Barn.
- 1676. Dec. 17, Lucy, dd. of John Dunn, a piper of Stepney, delivered Tuesday in the 2nd great snow in Ingatestone Hall Stable.
- 1663. Was buried a vagrant youth from Ingatestone Hall.
- 1683. Was buried March, the body of . . . from Ingatestone Hall—a vagrant.

And as they passed to and fro on their business and pleasure some of those rough drovers, those fashionable travellers, the weary woman, the home-returning soldier, came here to go hence no more. The old registers have sprinkled through their pages such entries as these :

- 1701. Robert Jones of Sputtle, bordering on Carnarvon or Denbighshire. Drover from Charles Standon's.
- 1758. A poor woman found near expiring in a Barn by Ingatestone Hall, of a natural Death as the Inquest gave verdict, whose name we could not discover.
- 1805. Joseph Huskinskey / late a German Soldier, died on his way to Harwich / was buried May 4th.

They lie under the shadow of the old church, side by side with the natives, sleeping their last sleep in our quiet churchyard.

Gone from our road are the gay coaches and the jovial drovers and the Welsh Militia uniform. Their places are taken by the 'daily breaders' hurrying to the train in the morning and returning by the 'slip' at night ; and their faces are

so familiar, and their hours so regular, that there is no charm in their passage for the villagers. The blacksmith no longer has to keep his smithy open till the last coach passes at eleven, nor his wife in her distant cottage to listen for its horn ere setting his supper to warm. Count Kielmansegge would find no fresh horses waiting for him at the Eagle, nor a good dinner and bed at the Chequers; and my Lord Petre's kinsman would search in vain for the Lion. Life in the village is far duller than of old, in spite of daily papers and the penny post; and the thousands of excursionists who whisk through our parish glean little pleasure from us, and we none at all from them. Silence has fallen upon the highway, save for the roar of a passing train or the rattle of a motor, and you may drive to Chelmsford and meet no more than a dozen carts and a handful of wayfarers. Never more can we say—

The hoofs of the horses beat,
Beat into my scalp and brain,
With never an end to the stream of rushing feet,
Driving, hurrying, marrying, burying—
It's enough to drive me mad.

PART IV

PAST AND FUTURE

Since life fleets, all is change ; the Past gone, seize to-day !

• • • • •
The best is yet to be.

Rabbi Ben Ezra.



D. R.

OLD BROOK COTTAGES, INGATESTONE STREET

CHAPTER I

YESTERDAY

YESTERDAY has already occupied most of our pages ; there remain only to be added the few fragments for which no corner has yet been found.

The monkeys who lived at Fryerning Rectory Cottage were not the only ones at that time in our parishes. There lived in the village a man who possessed one, and next door lived a tailor with his bulldog. The dog, being often loose, constantly worried the monkey, until at last his owner came to Mr. Hogg and said, ' If you leave your dog loose I shall leave my monkey loose, and let them have it out. I'm not afraid of my monkey being hurt.' ' All right,' said the tailor, being sure the bulldog would make short work with the monkey. So the aggrieved owner of the monkey cut two stout little sticks, about nine inches long, gave them one into each hand of the monkey, and let him loose. With one bound the monkey was on the bulldog's back, and *rub-a-dub-dub* he went with the sticks on the dog's head—*rub-a-dub-dub, rub-a-dub-dub !* The tailor soon cried mercy, the monkey left off and returned to his master, and was never after interfered with by the bulldog.

Mr. Turrel, who told me this tale, tells also of the cock-fighting that went on in the Market-place—not since he was a lad, but his father often talked about it, and described the ' battle ' cocks, with their steel fighting-spurs. The Market-place saw also much badger-baiting at times : both cruel sports, says he, it is well they are done away with. Poor, quiet, empty little Market-place, with its cattle and cocks gone, and even the cage in which drunkards were locked up a thing of the past, though well remembered by some old inhabitants. It often appears in the Churchwardens' accounts—its cleaning and repairing, and every year fresh straw. It was not only used for the drunkards, but also as a place to store the coal, which

the parish bought, and sold half-price to the poor, a bushel at a time, and the Vestry ordered that it should for safety be kept locked up in the Cage. Miss Hogg sends me her recollections of it :

‘The Cage was a small wooden building, a little longer than square ; it had one window, or rather, square opening crossed by interlacing bars of strong flat iron, like that used on barrels (hoops of iron) which were close, though not so close but that friends of the incarcerated could pass through slight refreshment to them when they were in the temporary lodgement for drunken and disorderly persons. The Stocks stood in front of the Cage, and both were in use during the making of the G. E. Railway.’

Miss Parkin, daughter of the late Rector L. Parkin, has kindly sent me some of the early recollections of herself and her friends, and I cannot do better than give them in her own words :

‘There were very interesting old people in Ingatestone during the early years of my father’s incumbency. Joseph Poole and William Asher, clerk and sexton, were well-known characters. Asher told me that he had ‘rung in’ fifty New Years. They both ate twenty-five Christmas dinners with us at the Rectory. I have a capital photograph of the quaint old men. Asher knew every grave in the churchyard.

‘I expect you remember how that worthy pair, Poole and Asher, between them built a piano with wooden keys. A Waterloo veteran, by name Sam Joice, lodged with Asher, and when in his cups, (which was not seldom) would parade the street shouting, ‘Waterloo, Waterloo!’

Asher was prepared to tell any parishioner which bit of the churchyard he intended to bury them in. ‘I shall put Mrs. So-and-so here, and I’ve just room for Miss Blank there.’ When Poole died, Mr. Parkin suggested to Asher that no fees should be charged for his burial ; to which Asher demurred. ‘Well, sir, I don’t know ; Poole he did charge me for Mrs. Asher.’ Those were days before daily ablutions were so common ; people washed less and were quite as happy, and of these worthies went the saying, ‘Asher washed once a year, Poole never.’ Many still remember how Asher stumped up and down the church during sermon-time, in creaking boots, carrying a long wand with which he rapped the heads of inattentive youths.

Fred Spalting & Sons, Chelmsford.

JOSEPH POOLE WILLIAM ASHER
Parish Clerk and Sexton, Ingatestone. From an old photograph

'One old body had seen Napoleon, and tied the lace of Princess Charlotte's shoe. This old lady left me her wedding-ring, and I have it still.

My sister reminds me that the floor fell in in the north mortuary chapel, and part of a monk's cowl and some hair were found.'

In the church were banners and helmets; these last remained long after the restoration, and it was the joy of the Rectory girls to dust them; but there was great dismay one day, when the spike of one of the helmets came off, until it was discovered they were only of wood! Miss Parkin also tells how on one occasion a villager put on one of these helmets, and could not get it off again, and her memory leaves him in it still. The helmets were removed some years ago to Thorndon Hall.

Descendants of Rector Antony Brasier (d. 1610) still live in the parish, and when Rector Parkin came in 1860 there was an aged couple living in the village whom Mrs. Parkin was taken to see. There they sat, each side of the fire, and Mrs. Parkin said to the old lady: 'Well, Mrs. Brasier, I hear you have been married over sixty years.' To which the dame replied: 'Yes, ma'am, yes; I was married sixty years ago, and I have been regretting it ever since.' And she glared at the old man sitting opposite, who only shook his head deprecatingly.

'My father, with the aid of Mr. Newbury of Docklands, founded one of the first Working Men's Clubs in 1862. It was held in a small room looking out to the churchyard. Penny Readings, quite a new institution, were very popular in those days.

A good deal of superstition lingered among the poor people. Some of the old folk still believed in the evil eye; a 'wise woman' lived on Mill Green, and there was a memory of the ducking of a witch in the pond. One old woman told me that her husband was bewitched by the evil eye. She consulted the wise woman, who recommended the following cure. She was told to cut her husband's nails, to put the parings in a corked bottle, to make up a large fire, to place the bottle in the midst of the fire, to close the doors and windows; she and her husband were to sit in the room in perfect silence. This was done: after some time the bottle cracked, the fragments of glass were scattered, and there came three solemn taps on the window outside. The old man was released from the evil eye and lived to be 96!'

I cannot find that any of our inhabitants suffered as witches, even in that terrible outbreak of superstition and persecution

in the seventeenth century, when witchcraft was so prevalent and so feared, and many of our unhappy neighbours were executed for it at Chelmsford, some of the victims really believing themselves to have the power of bewitching people. Also, I can find no record of any gallows or hanging-place in either parish, or of any field or wood bearing those names; so of the one hundred and fifty gallows in Essex happily none can have been here.

And ghosts? Is there any ancient, self-respecting parish in Essex that does not boast one? Have we any? Let us hear Miss Parkin and her friend:

‘A ghost was said to flit up and down the Lime walk of Ingatestone Hall. Another was supposed to splash out of the pond by Fryerning school at 10 o’clock—the ghost of a man who drowned himself there. I watched for it one night, and there certainly was a splash as the clock struck, but I fancy it was a fish.’

As both rats and moorhens frequent that pond, it was probably one of them. Another friend writes to remind Miss Parkin:

‘In the days of my youth there was a tradition that a cook who lived at Huskards once upon a time drowned herself in some water on that estate, and that her ghost haunted that place—why, wherefore, and what the appearance was like I canna tell.’

And to her list we must add the little old priest in black who frequented the western end of the parish, and the figure we have already noted as so conveniently locating itself near the smugglers’ Boot Inn. And yet I confess that our parish ghosts are mostly ‘they do say’, and that I have not come across any one who confesses to have seen one in either of our parishes, though they may have seen and felt them in an adjacent parish, for Blackmore, Highwood, Mountnessing, Stondon, and, further afield, Little Waltham and Broomfield, all boast of their ancient spirits. Still, if there is any ghost that wants the help of the living, as they seem to do sometimes, and if it appears to any of our parishioners, I hope it will get the succour that it seeks. Alas! poor ghost!

And here I will mention the underground passages that are said to have existed: Thoby to St. Leonards; St. Leonards to Bedesman’s Berg, and probably through Furze Hall; Thoby to Trueloves; Ingatestone Hall to the George Inn at Mount-

nessing, and to Thoby. I am told that traces of this last have come to light within the last hundred years, but have no definite information where or how.

Miss Parkin also writes :

‘ You will have heard of Mr. Lewis, who was Rector for so many years. His son, Mr. Richard Lewis, was a doctor in Ingatestone, and a well-known personality. He had never slept out of Ingatestone for fifty years, and was very proud of this fact. He married the daughter of Dr. Dibdin, who wrote ‘ Tom Bowling ’ and other songs.

Mr. Charles Butler, a charming old medical man, was also a very interesting link with the old times. We used to hear much of the old coaching-days, very palmy days for the town.’

Mr. Butler, I believe, made a good deal of money when the railway was in making, by selling to the Company gravel from his fields in Fryerning Lane.

Of Mr. Richard Lewis more is told. Country doctors in old days were expected to come to the back door, and if they came to see any of the family who were not ill enough to be in bed they were expected to wait and see them in the servants’ hall. The practice changed, and it became the fashion for the doctor to come, as to-day, to the front door ; but not so ‘ Dr. Dickey ’, as he was invariably called, he knew his way in through the back door, and would not be troubled to learn any other route. Moreover, it was a matter of interest to him, as he passed through the kitchen, to see what was cooking for his patient, and if any savoury pot was on the good old-fashioned open fire, off would go the lid for him to inspect the contents. Doubtless it enabled him to see the style of living, and charge accordingly. Very exacting he was with his fees, and rightly expected to be paid for his services. One old woman on whom he called to have his bill paid, said : ‘ I have all the money, doctor, except a penny.’ ‘ Hand it over,’ said Dr. Dickey, ‘ and send me on the penny.’ At that moment arose a cackling in the yard. ‘ There’s my penny,’ said he ; ‘ fetch in the egg, and I’ll take it.’ A fine big man he was, and held himself well, and his memory as a great walker even yet remains— ‘ He walked everywhere’. He lived in the village, and was immensely, and justly, proud of a picture that hung over the fireplace in his parlour, one by Romney of his wife’s mother,

Mrs. Dibdin—from all accounts a very beautiful woman. I cannot find what has happened to that charming picture, Miss Blood, his niece, having no knowledge of its whereabouts. His wife died before him, and is buried at the side of the great family mausoleum; he too is buried in the same or the adjoining grave, though no headstone, or notice on his wife's headstone, tells of it. His only child also lies close by.

Amongst the well-known inhabitants of the village in the first part of the nineteenth century was Mr. Alexander Hogg. He was a man of remarkable industry, for he had a flourishing nursery-garden, which is still marked on the Tithe-map as such, and took horticultural pupils. He also had a good-class school for boys, with much rivalry between it and the school at the Crown (q.v.), which seems to have attracted more pupils; and not content with these labours by day, he for many years went nightly to the railway-station to meet the 4 a.m. mail. He was very small in stature, but few big men would have undertaken his labours. Over the gate of his nursery-garden, facing the village street, there were set up the jaw-bones of a huge whale. These remained until after the middle of the nineteenth century, but have gone now, no one knows where. Mr. Hogg is buried under the large yew-tree in Fryerning churchyard.

In former days the stream that drains Fryerning crossed the road in the open, on its way to the fish-ponds of the Bell Inn, and in flood-time planks had to be put across it to carry pedestrians over dry-shod; it now humbly pursues its way beneath the road to the benefit of the villagers' shoe-leather.

Great changes have passed over our farms since the Roman times, but always we have been a great corn-growing district, though with the present low price of corn it has become more profitable to the farmer to keep large herds of cows to supply London with milk, and to fat bullocks for the local trade. But the greatest change is the supplanting of human labour by machines; there is hardly a farmer who does not reap his corn with a self-binder, and in a few years it seems likely no men will be found able to handle a scythe. With the advance of the machine has disappeared the gleaner—so familiar a sight in the cornfields in old days.

Many of the older women recount with pride how many bushels of corn they and their children would glean at harvest-time. Some of them had it thrashed at home by their husbands and sons with flails, but this gave way to the thrashing-machine, the farmers allowing them to have their gleanings thrashed, and then it was ground at the old mill on Mill Green. Practically no one in the parish goes gleaning to-day. Perhaps the children are not so industrious, or so obedient to their parents; certainly there is less corn to pick up; but the memory of the gleaning days is recalled as we pass some of the fields of the older farmers, and see a solitary trave standing, a sign to the gleaners that the farmer has not yet raked, and they must not enter.

CHAPTER II

TO-MORROW

EPILOGUE

[From an old author.]

*For herde it is, a man to attayne
To make a thing perfyte, at first sight,
But wan it is red, and well over seyne
Fautes may be founde, that never came to lyght,
Though the maker do his diligence and might.
Prayeing them to take it, as I have entended,
And to forgyve me, yf that I have offended.*

FINIS

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM CHARTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

No. 1

Gilbert Montfichet. Charter, time of Henry II. See *Mon. Angl.*, vol. ii, 508, ed. 1661, and Newcourt's *Rep.*, vol. ii, p. 277.

‘Notum fit omnibus, quod ego Gilbertus de Montfichet, pro anima patris et matris meæ, et omnium antecessorum, et salute animæ meæ et hæredum et omnium successorum meorum dedi et concessi Deo, et beatae Mariæ et Sancto Johanni Baptistæ et beatis pauperibus sanctæ domus hospitalis Jerusalem et fratribus in eadem domo Deo servientibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, medietatem manerie de Ginghes, cum omnibus ad eandem medietatem pertinentibus, in bosco et plano &c. excepto Forenseco bosco quod dicitur Westfrid quod michi et hæredibus meis retinui. Quare volo, &c.’

Here is no mention made of the church, but afterwards, in a charter of King John, whereby he confirms several grants to the said hospital, he confirms to God and the brethren of the same: ‘Ex dono Rich. Montfichet villam de Ginges cum ecclesia et omnibus pertinentiis.’

So that the village of Ginges with the church was given to them by Richard de Montfichet, next successor to Gilbert. Since when the church, dedicated to —, which is a rectory, was in the gift of the said Prior (Clerkenwell) till the Dissolution, then in Wil. Barners, Esq., then in Bakers, then in Whitcombe, and last of all in the Warden and Fellows and Scholars of Wadham College, Oxford, and, together with the manor, as I guess, part of the endowment of that College at its first foundation in 1613.

No. 2

Record Office. Rot. Chart., 1 Johannis, pars 1, m. 17.

‘Ex dono Ricardi de Montfichet villam de Ginges cum Ecclesia et omnibus pertinentiis suis.’

No. 3

From *Cartulaire Général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers*, par Delaville la Roulx. Après 1185-1190, vol. iv, pp. 322, 680. Brit. Museum, Cotton MS. Nero E. vi, f. 215, xv. 3.

'Accord entre Garnier de Naplouse prieur d'Angleterre et Henri de Maldon chapelain de Ginges pour assurer des messes en faveur de l'âme de Marguerite de Montfichet.

Après 1185 et avant 1190.

Conventio inter priorem et fratres Hospitalis et capellandum de Ginges de hospicio suo et aliis ibidem.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod hoc modo convenit inter Garnierium de Neapoli priorem et fratres Hospitalis Jerusalem in Anglia, et Henricum de Malden capellanum de Gynges, scilicet quod predicti prior et fratres concesserunt predicto Henrico honestum hospicium ad inhabitandum apud Gynges et terram ad ortum faciendum. Ipse vero Henricus tenetur divina celebrare in oratorio constructo in curia, que fuit domine Margarete de Montfichet pro anima domine Margarete et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

His testibus

Ricardo de Montfichet.
Petro Gerpu(n) vill(a).
Roberto de Burgat.
Johanni de Kereling.
Waltero de Herefordia.
Stephano et Angodo, clericis.'

No. 4

Camden Society, *Knights Hospitallers in England*. Valuation of their property in 1338 by Priors l'Archer and Leonard de Tybertis. Preface by J. M. Kemble. Membrum of Clerkenwell.

'Gynges. Est ibidem messuagium cum gardino et acris terre pastura ad iij bidentes et ad XX vaccas, XLI de redditu assiso, XL acris prati demissis ad fermam, et perquisitis curiarum, et valent ultra reprisas . . . XL marcas.'

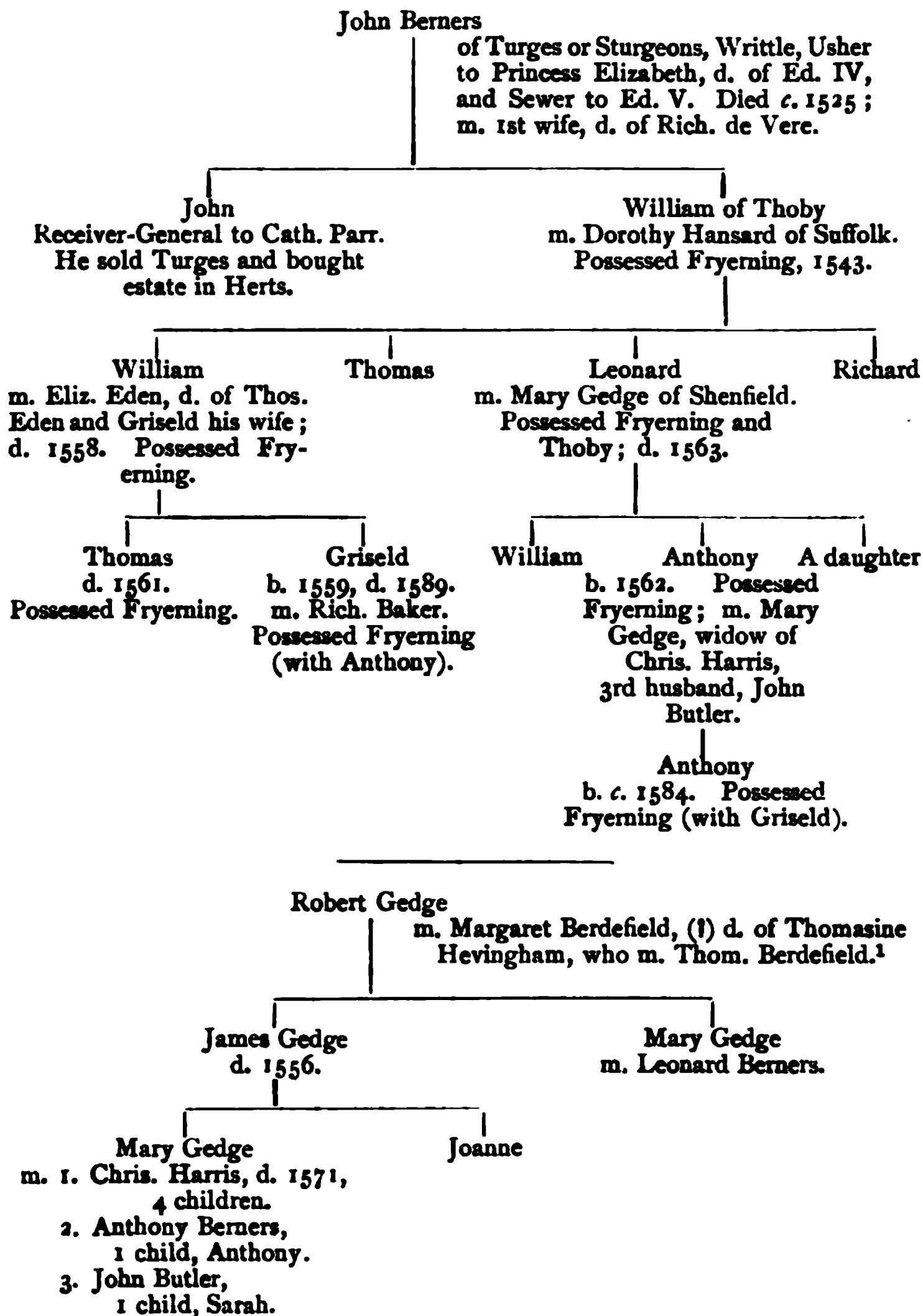
No. 5

Grant made to Earl of Hertford. Gardiner, 34 Hen. VIII, vol. xvii, p. 8.

'The manor of Ing at stone, Rectory of Gynge Hospital, and all the appurtenances in Ing at stone, Gynge Fierne, Gynge Hospital and Gynge Abbess which belonged to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.'

No. 6

Gathered from Morant, Wadham College documents, and Proceedings in Chancery, P.R.O.



¹ Morant, vol. ii, 73.

No. 7¹

Essex Arch. Soc. Trans., vol. vi, N.S., pp. 24 and 30.

'Fierning. Thomas Bastiwyke 1541. Gyng Hospitall alias Gyng-atestone.'

'Will. Berners (1559). My manor of Gyng Fryerne alias Gyng Berners, alias Gyng Hospitall, alias Inge at stone.'¹

No. 8

Record Office. Letters Patent, 31 Hen. VIII, 1539.

'Wil. Petre of London, LL.D. Grant in fee for £849 12s. 6d. of the manor of Gyng Abbes, Essex, belonging to the late monastery of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga of Barking, Essex, the advowson and rectory of the Parish Church of Ingerstone alias Gyng Petrum, Essex, and all messuages, lands, &c., in Ingerstone, Gyng ad Petrum, Mountnesynge, and Fryer Inge, Essex, belonging to the said manor, and all rents due to the bailif of the said manor, though the said rents be parcels of the manors of Woodbarnes and Hanley, Essex, now severally leased to John Smyth of Blackmore and Tho. Radley of Inge atte stone, Essex.

To hold by the yearly rent of £4 14s. 6d., with liberties.

Westminster, 14 Dec., 31 Hen. VIII.'

APPENDIX B

CHURCH RESTORATION ACCOUNTS

FRYERNING CHURCH RESTORATION, 1870

The following are the principal items in the accounts. Unfortunately neither specifications nor plans exist, save for porch and pulpit. The work was originally estimated to cost £1,145, but by the time it was finished the bill had run up to £1,438.

The original scheme did not include restoring the chancel arch. Perhaps it was found, as the work progressed, that the old one was too defective to be repaired, hence the not very pleasing new one.

				£	s.	d.
Nave.	Roof of new Oak	.	.	415	0	0
	Walls	.	.	100	0	0
	Oak benches	.	.	170	0	0
Chancel.	Roof, Oak	.	.	158	0	0
	Walls	.	.	50	0	0
	Benches	.	.	88	0	0
	Chancel Arch	.	.	42	10	0
Rebuilding Organ	.	.	.	50	0	0

¹ Probably the order in point of time; Gyng Fryerne the most recent name, Inge at stone the original name before the Knights had it.

APPENDIX C

LISTS OF RECTORS, PRIESTS, AND MINISTERS

RECTORS OF FRYERNING

Patron.

Henry de Maldon, ¹ chaplain, 1195	
Robert Caro, 1361	Rob. Pavely, prior
John Duffield, ² vacated by exchange	
William Danvers, by exchange, 1381	
Ric. Gerbray	
Rob. Norres, March 1433, p. res. Gerbray	Rob. Mallore, prior
Ric. Catryk, July 1440, p. res. Norres	} Rob. Botrill, prior
Will. Chapman, ³ Dec. 1444, p. res. Catyrk	
John Taylor, Feb. 1445, p. res. Chapman	
Egid. Hamond, cl. Jan. 1446, p. mort. Taylor	
Will. Chamberlain ⁴	
Ric. Weston, June 1463, p. res. Chamberlayn	} Pri. Hosp. praed.
Rob. Renkin, Nov. 1467, p. res. Weston	
Thos. Chadilworth, Nov. 1474, p. exch.	
Clem. Fawks	
Ric. Lytser, ⁵ Feb. 1476, p. res. Fawks	} John Weston, prior
John Connok, Nov. 1483, p. res. Lytser	
Rob. Walford	
John Doughtyman, ⁶ Nov. 1493, p. res. Walford	John Kendall, prior
Joh. How	
Will. Ermstede, ⁷ March 1533, p. res. How	Joh. Farrer, p. h. v.
Edw. Thorp, ⁸ June 1534, p. res. Ermsted	Pri. Hosp. praed.
Thos. Bradley, cl. Jan. 1548, p. mort. Thorp	} Will. Barners, armig.
Ludowic Maddock, cl. April 1550, p. mort. Bradley	
Ralph Hawdon, 1585, p. res. Maddock	
Will. Owen, June 1587	Thos. Baker, armig.
Rob. Nutter, A.M., May 1620, p. mort. Owen	Pet. Whetcomb, Gent.
Tim. Basill, A.M., Aug. 1620, p. mort. Nutter	{ Gard. Socii et Schol. Coll. Wadham, Oxon.
Will. Smith, S.T.P., Sept. 1620, p. res. Basill	
	{ Jonas Radcliff, S.T.P., p. h. v.

¹ A Henry de Maldon was Abbot of Bewley, 1209.

² Exch. with W. D. for R. of Horsepath, Oxon.; exch. Horsepath for Ealing, 1400; V. of Chigwell, 1405; R. Kingscliffe; patron, Master of S. Lawrence Pountney.

³ V. of Aldham.

⁴ V. All Saints, Colchester.

⁵ V. Roding Alta.

⁶ Fuit Rector hujus Ecclesiae tempore visitationis Episcopalis, A. 1495.

⁷ V. inter Praeb. de Neasden.

⁸ V. Stanmore Magna, Middlesex.

Geo. Gillingham, A.M., June 1630, p. cess. Smith	} Gard. Socii & Scol. Wadham Col., Oxon.
Will. Payton, S.T.B., Feb. 1632, p. cess. Gillingham	
Will. Beard, 1643	} Commission for Par- liament
Samuel Smith, 1645	
John Peake, A.M., Aug. 1657	
Rob. D'Oyley, A.M., Oct. 1688, p. mort. Peake	} Wadham College
John Leaves, A.M., April 1733, p. mort. D'Oyley	
John Blake, A.M., Jan. 1754, p. mort. Leaves	
Rich. Stubbs, B.D., Feb. 1783, p. mort. Blake	} Bp. of London, p. h. v.
Rich. Michell, D.D., March 1811, p. mort. Stubbs	
George Price, M.A., 1826, p. mort. Michell	} Wadham College
Henry Weare Blandford, M.A., July 1861, p. mort. Price	
Edward Cockey, M.A., 1870, p. mort. Bland- ford	
Frederick Tufnell, M.A., 1881, p. mort. Cockey	
William Joseph House, M.A.; per cess. Tuf- nell, 1902	

RECTORS OF INGATESTONE

Ric. Warlam	} Abbess and Convent de Barking
Warine de Medbourne, July 1370, p. res. Warlam	
Ric. Depdale	
John Wysebech, Oct. 1375, p. res. Depdale	
Wil. Godfry	
Thos. Whiston, Nov. 1389, p. res. Godfry	
John Newton, Aug. 1391, p. res. Whiston	
John Malteby, June 1392, p. res. Newenton	
Thos. Westurne, Nov. 1408	
Thos. Greene	
Hugo Browne, June 1445, p. res. Greene	
John Shodewell, Dec. 1464, p. mort. Browne	
Ric. Asteley	
Geo. Davy, A.M., May 1470, p. res. Asteley	
John Canning, July 1476, p. res. Davy	
Thos. Holmes, Aug. 1479, p. mort. Canning ¹	
John Long, Oct. 1492, p. mort. Holmes	
Will. Butteler	
Edw. Grey, A.M., March 1515, p. mort. Butteler	
Thos. Green, March 1528, p. res. Grey	
Rob. Gostwicke, Dec. 1534, p. res. Green	
Henry Gold, A.M., Oct. 1537, p. res. Gostwick	

¹ See page 213.

John Green, cl. Nov. 1539, p. mort. Gould	{ Hum. Tyrrel & Will. Pownset, Gent. p. h. v.
John Woodward, A.M., 1556, p. mort. Green	{ Will. Petre
Ant. Brasier, A.M., Jan. 1566, p. res. Woodward	
Nic. Cliffe, S.T.B., Nov. 1609, p. mort. Brasier	John Petre
Will. Smith, S.T.P., Oct. 1619, p. mort. Cliffe	And. Pease, p. h. v.
John Willis, A.M., June 1630, p. cess. ult. Rect.	{ Will. Smith, S.T.P., p. h. v.
John Ewer, A.M., Oct. 1662, p. res. Willis	Will. Dom. Petre
Thomas Ralph, A.M., 1714, p. mort. Ewer	J. Ralph
Pierce Lloyd, A.M., 1753, p. mort. Ralph	T. Bramston
John Lewis, S.T.B., 1770, p. mort. Lloyd	David Lloyd
John Lewis, M.A., 1796, p. cess. Lewis	R. W. Lewis
W. J. F. Jenkyn, 1853, p. mort. Lewis	
Lewis Parkin, M.A., 1860, p. cess. Jenkyn	
Charles Earle, B.A., 1885, p. res. Parkin	

PRIESTS AT INGATESTONE HALL AFTER 1566

John Woodward, A.M., 1566–1571. Previously Rector, but refused to conform, and resigned.

John Payne. Martyred at Chelmsford, 1582

Charles Barington, 1776

Thomas Barington, 1778–1785¹

Robert Jackson, 1785–1796

John Clarkson, 1796–1823²

James Quinn, 1823–1825

Philip O'Reilly, 1825–1828

John Law, 1828–1832

George Canon Last, 1832–1892

Edmund Meyer, 1892–1904

Roderick Grant, 1904

CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL

Names of Ministers and Deacons furnished by the Rev. L. C. Sellars, with dates and length of service.

Ministers.

Benjamin Hayter, 1813–1846. Although the above-mentioned minister resigned in 1846 he remained in Ingatestone until his death in 1856, and, as occasion required and strength permitted, probably

¹ He was a friend of Christopher Cusack, of Furze Hall, q.v. He is buried under an altar tomb in Stock churchyard, near the footpath to the Rectory. '† Rev. Thomas Barington, late of Ingatestone Hall, 2nd son of Thomas Barington, of Moat Hall, in the County of Salop, b. Jan. 1730, d. Oct. 1805. R. I. P.' Two other Thos. Baringtons are buried close by. The name is spelt 'Berington' in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

² See p. 218 for the very pleasing epitaph on his tomb.

served in an honorary capacity. The following is the last entry made in his handwriting: '1850, Joseph Rolph, son of John and Sarah Rolph, was born in the Parish of Buttsbury, Essex, April 19, 1849, and baptized June 13, 1850, By me, Benjamin Hayter, late dissenting Minister of the Congregational Order, Ingatestone, Essex, but now a useless one through palsy.'

George Moore, 1852-1860

John Bevan, 1861-1866

Anthony Clarke Gill, 1867-1870

George Gibson Horton, 1871-1872

John Wesley Houchin, 1873-1895

Alfred Albert Savage, 1897-1900

William Whittle, 1901-1902. The ministry of the above was cut short by death, he having been in Ingatestone only ten months when that event occurred.

Josiah Collyer, 1903-1908

Lawrence Clarke Sellars, 1910

Deacons.

William Moss, 1813-1830. He was the first Deacon appointed by the newly constituted fellowship worshipping in the new Chapel built in 1812. The fellowship consisted of twelve members, seven belonging to Stock and five to Ingatestone.

James Gurdon Reeve, 1852-1879

John Goslin, 1852-1876

Thomas Nash, 1877-1910

Samson Avey, 1889-1908

These all held office until removed by death.

William E. Goulden, 1893, still remains in office.

APPENDIX D

EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF RANDOLPH HAWDEN

Rector of Fryerning 1585 (?), Vicar of Maldon 1600-1619.

'In the name of God Amen . . . I Raph Hawden . . . being aged and stricken in years and of good and perfecte memory thankes be to God knowing that all men by nature are borne to dye . . . first and principally do commend my soule unto the hand of the Almighty God that blessed trinitie the Father the Sonne and the holy Ghost having good assurance by and from the gracious work and testimony of the holy Spirit of the free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes of God's great love and mercy in Jesus Christ my blessed and alone Saviour by and through his sorrows meritte and passion and of eternal blessedness reserved for me in the heavens after this mortal life ended' . . . He leaves to his son James

his 'copyhold messuage Goodharts . . . in Lasingdon after the decease of Johan my well beloued wife'. His freehold land and tenement in Bradwell 'to my right trustie and well beloued friends John Soan gent William ffrancis George Purcas Henry Bachelor Thomas Cheese and Edward Emersham' to sell the property and divide the proceeds equally 'between my daughters Elizabeth Hawden Isabelle Hawden and Joane Hawden', to his daughters Sarah and Mary twenty-two shillings a piece. 'I give unto the poor people of the said parish of All Saints $13/4$ and also unto the poor people of St. Peters parish in Mauldon aforesaid $13/4$ to be paid within three months next after my death. The residue of my goods and Chattles moveables plate householde stuffe implements of householde and husbandrie stocke and stoores of Cattle of what kinde soever corne grayne and haye and blades of corne and grayne and whatsoever else I have or may dispose of I give fully and wholly unto the said Johan my wife.' After his death his wife is 'in decent and seemly manner to find keepe and bring up the said Elizabeth Isabelle and Joane until their said age or marriage with competent meate and drinke apparwell and all other necessaries and at learning and virtuous studies and exercises'. His sons-in-law, Henry Bachelor and Edward Emersham, and his eldest son, John Hawden, were to be Overseers of this will, and he left to them 'an Angell of gould a piece as a small remembrance of my love unto them'. His wife he made Executrix. Oct. 1619.¹

RECTOR JOHN EWER

Letters of Administration were taken out for his estate Jan. 24th, 1717, by his daughters, Joanne Percivall *a/s.* Ewer and Elizabeth Glascock *a/s.* Ewer.

RECTOR THOMAS RALPH'S BOOKS

The books discovered in the loft (see p. 185) were all large folio volumes; it is very probable that the following were only the survivors of a large number of works:

Complete History of England, writ by a learned and Impartial hand. Vol. iii. London, 1706.

Cosmographie. Peter Heylyn. London, 1665.

History of the Jews. Basnage, trans. Thos. Taylor. London, 1708.

Vindication of the Church of England. John Lindsay. London, 1728.

Synopsis Criticorum. Mathew Pole. 4 vols. London, 1669.

Lexicon, Greek and Latin. Ludolphus Kusturus. 2 vols. Camb., 1705.

Works of John Lightfoot, ed. Strype and Bright. London, 1684.

These were sent to the National University of Wales, Aberystwyth,

¹ V. G. Load. Hamer, p. 384.

which gladly accepted them, and placed in each volume the following label :

The National Library of Wales./From the Library of/The late Rector Ralph of Ingatestone,/Essex/sometime Fellow of Pembroke College Cambridge./Died 1755/Presented by the Rector of Ingatestone,/with the consent of the Bishop of Barking,/23 Sept. 1912./

The following were sent to the University Library, Cambridge :

Harmonia Evangelica. John Gerhard. Geneva, 1628.
S. Cyprianos. H. Dodwell. Amsterdam, 1700.

APPENDIX E

NOTES ON REGISTERS, BY THE REV. O. W. TANCOCK, AND EXTRACTS FROM INGATESTONE REGISTERS

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTER BOOKS OF FRYERNING, ESSEX

The Parliamentary Return of 1830-33 stated the Books of Fryerning 'prior to 1813' to be six, thus :

Book I.	Bap. Bur. Mar.	1595-1740
Book II.	Bap. Bur.	1741-1793
	Mar.	1741-1754
Book III.	Bap.	1741-1812
	Bur.	1793-1812
Book IV.	Mar.	1756-1787
Book V.	Mar.	1786-1812
Book VI.	Banns	1787-1812

with a note 'Book II Bap. Bur. imperfect from 1756 to 1760.'

The return in the Archdeacon's Book of Terriers, signed and dated 'F. Tufnell 1887', agrees as to Books I-V, but omits Book VI, which, however, is existing ; a note is added, condition 'very much worse'. The returns are sufficiently correct, but the date of Book I is somewhat misleading.

The books are six.

Book I is of parchment, in a parchment cover, about 12 x 9 in. The leaves are fairly perfect, but the first fly-leaf has been cut ; the last three leaves are worn and damaged by damp, and partly illegible. There is a late index, and paging in a late hand. The book consists of fifty leaves, and its contents are a register most remarkably and curiously irregular. It is not the real Book I or transcript from 1538 or 1558, which has disappeared. This book was, there can be little doubt, begun in 1620 or 1621, after the institution of Rector William Smith, all earlier entries having been written up. The book has a title, 'The Churche book of y^e Pifhe of ffryerninge in Essex of Christeninges, Mariages and buriales'. Leaf 1 has on recto seven entries of a Vintner family, baptisms 1595,

1597, 1603, 1606, 1608, 1611, 1613; and some few 'written up' entries of 1616-1622; on the verso are five entries of an Emerton family 1616-1623, and on this, and on leaves 2, 3 and 4, are entries forming a consecutive mixed register from 1633 to 1637 in Rector William Peyton's hand.¹ Leaf 5 has an attempt at a regular mixed register beginning from 1619/20, but written up later: baptisms are from April 4, 1619; burials from April 22, 1619; mar. from Oct. 4, 1619. On leaf 6 is the true beginning of this Register 'in divisions', with baptisms in Latin from 1621, on about half a page. Hence to leaf 10 recto is a register of baptisms more or less continuous to March 25, 1642/3, with the verso blank, followed by one baptism of 1648 on leaf 11. Leaves 13 to 16 have a mixed register in various hands from March 26, 1627, to Jan. 4, 1632/3, followed by Rector Peyton's hand from Feb. 7, 1632/3, being earlier than the entries on pp. 2-8 and pp. 11-20.

These include Thomas Milward, Clarke, buried May 31, 1630—probably a Curate who made some of these entries.

Thus what may be called the first part ends on leaf 16 recto, p. 27, or leaf 10, p. 20, with the sequestration of Rector William Peyton (said to have been sequestered 1644).

Leaves 16, 17, and 18 contain irregular entries from soon after Rector Peyton's time to 1662, in various hands written up, including years 1646-48, 1650-1-5-7, and many mixed entries of 1653 and onward to 1661. Probably many are by an 'intruded' Rector, Samuel Smith, 1648 (following an intruded Rector, William Beard, 1645), and Rector John Peake, 1657. Some are in Rector Peake's hand, including 'Baptised was Mary Peake y^e daughter of John Peake minister of fryerning & of Alice his wife, Jan. 14, 1661/2'. From 1662 there is a fairly regular register to 1679 on leaves 19, 20, and 21, and then turning back two leaves, are entries 1679 to June, 1684; and on leaves 22 and 23 and 24 recto entries 1687 and 1688, including 'Mr. John Peake Rect^r of fryerning buried March 5 anno supra scripto', i. e. 1687/8.

The year 1665, a 'plague year', is defective, having only two burials; it may be supposed that here, as in other places, many deaths of plague were not entered, burial being not duly performed, or not in the churchyard.

On leaf 24 verso is a new hand, May 16, 1688, of Rector Robert D'Oyley (or of his time, 1688-1733). Births ('born') are entered on two pages—1707 to July 3, 1710. This part of the book again is irregular, e. g. few or no entries from 1700 to April, 1705; in the latter part of Rector D'Oyley's time there is no order or regularity at all. For instance, the entries are defective from 1715 to 1724, being 'written up', with blank spaces implying omissions; with one entry of 1726. Marriages were written up from 1695 to 1740, being 48 in all, some or all inserted after Rector Leaves (1733-1754) came.

¹ Including the marriage of Rector Peyton to Mary Tobington of Monysinge.

Burials from 1691, with entries of affidavits under the Burial in Woollen Act, are entered on nine leaves, reaching to 1731 (in which year are two burials), and after a blank leaf burials again from 1733 on two leaves. The book is full: the last baptism being March 8, 1740/1; last burial, Feb. 23, 1740/1; last marriage, May 26, 1740.

Some entries are of interest; a scribble on leaf 1 'I mary peake am 14 year Jan. 3, 1675'; 'William Owen Clarke was buried 24 April, 1620' (i. e. the Rector). On leaf 7 and afterwards are signatures of Rector 'Gulielmus Peyton rector ecclesiae ibidem', and the Churchwardens' marks year by year. An entry occurs of a 'still-born' child 'laid into the ground', a 'William Titmouse', in 1688. There is no notice of the election of a 'civil Register' of the parish in 1653, nor any sign of his use of this book. No notice is taken of the Civil War or Commonwealth, or of the beginning of the Burials in Woollen Act. The book is an irregularly kept Register of Rector William Peyton and of Rector John Peake, Rector Robert D'Oyley, and of a few years of Rector Leaves, who seems to have been for the most part non-resident, and whose curates are not recorded.

Book II is of paper, about 16 in. by 6 in., in parchment binding. It follows on Book I, being begun by Rector Leaves. The Register is 'in divisions'.

Baptisms are first, from May 7, 1741, usually on the recto only, with notes on the verso; regular to 1747; deficient from 1747 to 1752; better for 1753; but with few entries to 1757. From 1757 entries were made by 'Pierce Lloyd, curate', and so to about 1769; then few follow¹; and a long gap is found 1772 to 1778, by the neglect of 'the Rev. Mr. Scott Curate'. Then 1778 'J^{no} Jenner D.D. Curate' made entries in a clear hand to 1786, over the end of Rector Blake's time (1754-83). From 1783 the hand of Rector R. Stubbs occurs—baptisms of his children in and before 1787, he signed in 1792, and the Register is well kept; the last baptism is Aug. 18, 1793, followed by blank leaves.

Burials are in the middle of the book, from April, 1741, in the same styles and hands. Entries are careful in 1753. Curate Lloyd writes and signs about 1759; there is a gap 1771-7 with several blank leaves, Curate Scott's omission. In 1778 Curate Halls made entries (i. e. Rev. James Halls, Curate of Ingatestone) and Curate John Jenner 1778 to 1784. Notices of affidavits received are renewed. The last burial is Sept. 16, 1793, and a note is added of the 'new parchment Book', i. e. Book III.

Marriages are from April 3, 1741, to June 3, 1754. A page of fees is added, and some banns are inserted on loose scraps of paper (?), a 'private baptism' was entered with 'confirmed in that baptism Feb. 20, 1753'.

Book III is a fine book, of parchment, about 16 in. by 10. The

¹ For these see Ingatestone Register, Book II.

Register is in divisions, with the baptisms first, all those from May 7, 1741, to 1795 being copied from Book II. The entries are continued, being original from 1793 to Dec. 5, 1812, when the book was closed by Rose's Act, being unfilled.

Burials are from September 29, 1793, following on Book II, and continued to Dec. 18, 1812; and they include 'Richard Stubbs, D.D., buried January, 1811, aged 64.' The book was bought by Rector Stubbs, and the entries are mostly in his hand.

Book IV is a Marriage Register of parchment; written in the prescribed form, with entries, five on a page, numbered from 1 to 117, from June 3, 1754, to Jan. 9, 1786, of the times of Rectors Blake and Stubbs.

Book VI is a corresponding Book of Banns from 1787 to 1812.

The parish of Fryerning is so closely connected with Ingatestone that the Registers of the two parishes should be considered as in some degree supplementing one another; the gap of 1771-8 is to be filled by entries in the Ingatestone book.

I saw these books on July 4, 1905; by the kind permission of the Rector.

(Signed) O. W. Tancock.

Little Waltham, Aug. 3, 1905.

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTER BOOKS OF INGATESTONE, ESSEX

The Parliamentary Returns of 1830-3 stated the books of Ingatestone 'prior to 1813' to be four, thus:

Book I.	Bap. Bur. Mar.	1558-1732
Book II.	Bap. Bur.	1732-1792
	Mar.	1732-1754
Book III.	Bap. Bur.	1792-1812
Book IV.	Mar.	1754-1812

The return in the Archdeacon's Book of Terriers, signed and dated 'C. Earle, 1887', agrees, and states the condition of the books to be 'very good'.

The books are four.

Book I is of parchment, in a modern binding of brown calf, about 15 in. long by 6 in. It is the usual transcript, written in accordance with the Ordinance of 1598. It has a title: 'Registrum ecclesiae Pochialis de Ing at stone / continens Baptismata funera et / matrimonia a quinto die Septembris / año dñi 1558 año vero Regni regine / nostre Elizabethe &c. primo.'

The Register is in Latin at first, 'in divisions,' with the baptisms first, from Sept. 5, 1558. The transcript may be taken as written by Rector Antony Brasier; the pages have no rector's signature, but have the signatures of churchwardens: 'gardiani'—Robert Hynch and John Barnarde's mark. The transcript fills eleven leaves to July 2, 1598; from that date there are no signatures; the hand is

probably the same, but the writing is less careful; six leaves, in what seems like the same hand grown worse, reach to 1606. A new hand writes entries from March 19, 1608/9; another or others follow, and five leaves bring the Register to 1618. Then there is a gap from 1618 to 1625; apparently two leaves were lost early; as a note there is, 'The two leaves missing were not in, when the book was delivered to me, John Ewer, in December 1662 by Mr John Wyllys sen^r.' A new style, very neat, is begun in 1625, with signature 'Per me Johaⁿe Shrigleigh curat ibid', and is continued on two leaves to Sept. 21, 1630. A new neat hand, probably of Rector John Wyllys (Willis), follows from 1630 to 1637. Other entries follow. Then the contemporary Register comes to an end. From July 12, 1638, there is an irregular and incomplete Register written in the neat small hand of Rector John Ewer (instituted Oct. 31, 1662, inducted Nov. 25, 1662). There is a gap and space at 1641, and at other dates, and so the Register is continued to 1647/8 and to 1654, and with gaps to 1661, with a note:

'Mem.: that the names & ages of the baptized children since 12 July 1638 unto 24 March 1647/8 except that of Susanna Bishop were inserted by old yearly paper books left by the then Clarke with the Minister and delivered by him with this book; & (*sic*) the rest by suchlike but more imperfect paper books or by the entreaty and deliberately computed direction of their Respective Parents while their children were very young and thereby their ages fresh in their memories.'

From 1662 entries are regular in Rector Ewer's hand and with his signature and those of Churchwardens to April 10, 1687; a new hand, July 1, 1687, to about 1698, is probably that of 'Curate Nathaniel Reeve'; and then entries are generally in Ewer's hand to Oct. 3, 1708. There is then a gap to 1713 (one entry of 1710, one of 1711), and then the hand of Rector Thomas Ralph till Sept. 4, 1726, where baptisms have overtaken the early burials. After the burials are added, before the marriages, more baptisms from Sept. 8, 1726, to Aug. 7, 1732, in the hand of Rector Ralph, filling the book.

Many entries are of interest, 'Margaret Brasier, bapt. Aug. 16, 1570,' '1578 xxv die Julii bapt: Anna Brasier filia Antonii Brasier.' '1582, Nov. 18, Maria Brasier.' 'Francis Petre the sonn of Mr. Robert Petre eldest sonne of the Right Honourable Lord Petre was baptized (as I was informed, for it was done in my absence) Nov. 3, 1631.' 'Thomas Petre, son of Mr. Robert Petre, Dec. 5, 1633, as I was informed'; so 'Dorothie Petre, April 1655' (no doubt Roman baptisms). 'William Wyllys, sone of John Wyllys, Rector Resident of this parish, baptized July 16, 1633.' 'Ann Wyllys . . . March 30, 1635.' 'Nov. 17, 1688. Mary daughter of Nathaniel Reeve and Mary his wife' (curate).

Burials are in like style and hands; from Aug. 12, 1558, in Latin,

¹ William Beard, baptized Jan. 30, 1609/10, son of Thomas Beard, may be the intruded Rector of Fryerning, 'William Beard, 1645'.

'funera'. The transcript fills seven leaves to 1598; less neat entries follow. In 1625 John Shrigleigh, curate, makes entries. Rector John Wyllys followed to 1638. The gap 1638-61 is not filled, as in the case of baptisms. After Rector John Ewer's Register to 1708 there is, as in the baptisms, a gap to 1713, and a note: 'Mr Ewer had y^e Register in his hands all this vacancy, and neglected to register names.' Rector Thomas Ralph made entries from 1713 to Aug. 7, 1732, when the book was closed. The early entries were in some measure edited and annotated by Rectors Wyllys and John Ewer, who under 1629 added a note of the later parish Clerks to 1638, 1652, 1664, 1696. Among entries of interest are 'Item the 23rd daye of October was buried Antony braiser (Brafier) Clarke. Anno dñi 1609.' 'Jane Brafier wydow was buried March 3, 1609,' i.e. 1609/10. 'John Lord Petre, Oct. 28, 1613.' 'William Lord Petre, May 12, 1637.' 'Robert Lord Petre, Oct. 1638.' 'Mrs. Wyllys, wife of Mr. John Wyllys, Rector, June 14, 1647.' 'John Wyllys Sen^r Clerke quondā Rect^r heere. May 19, 1679.' 'Robert Lord Petre, March 30, 1713'; and others of the family.

Marriages are in like hands from 1558 to April 29, 1732—with like gaps and deficiencies; e.g. 1630 to 1663 and 1686 to 1695, and about 1713. This book has no note of the election of a civil 'Parish Register' of 1653 nor any trace of him. It is difficult to see why the book is defective from 1638 to 1662, since Rector John Willis was instituted in 1630, was resident in 1647, 1648, 1650, 1654, and remained to be ejected in 1662, and is probably the 'Minister' who 'delivered this Book' to Rector Ewer. There may be some other Church Book existing somewhere.

Book II is of paper, in parchment binding, about 13 in. by 8½ in., obtained by Rector Thomas Ralph. It follows on Book I. Burials are first from 1732. The earlier entries are in his hand, and his signature occurs for many years. His hand ends Aug. 7, 1753, followed by that of 'Richard Meadowcroft curate', 1754-55, and of Rector Pierce Lloyd from Nov. 6, 1755, to 1770. Entries for 1771, 1772, 1773 are irregular. A note is added: 'for the same reason that the Baptisms omitted by Mr. Scott to be inserted in the Ingatestone Register have been added by Mr. Lewis (1772 and five following years) from various loose and scattered papers left by Mr. Scott on his quitting the curacies of Ingatestone and Fryerning; the Burials likewise here following are in like manner thought proper to be added on the like authorities.' No burials of 1776 are entered. Two pages are filled with Fryerning burials of the same period, 1775-7, with one of 1773, and two of Buttsbury 1774.' From 1777 to Michaelmas 1778, entries are by 'Mr. Hall curate'¹; then in the neat hand of 'Jno. Jenner curate' to Sept. 18, 1787; from Sept. 25, 1787, by 'William Herringham curate'; and from 1792 'John Lewis jun^r, Curate'; from 1796 'John Lewis, Rector'. The last burial is Sept. 15, 1799.

¹ Or Halls, i.e. the Rev. James Halls.

Many entries are of interest: 1743. 'Unfortunately drowned in a ditch.' So 'drowned in a pond'. 1743. 'Elizabeth Strange; called so because she was a Foundling'. Many soldiers were buried—e.g. 1739, 'A Dragoon from Col. Honeywood's Regiment'; 1740, 1746, 1748, 'from Lord Cadogan's Regiment'. 'The Right Hon. Robert James Petre Baron of Writtle July 8, 1742.' 'Edward Bacchus 1746.' 'Mr. Thomas Gipp, March 16, 1749/50, in Lord Petre's Chancel.' Many travellers were buried. 'Pierce Lloyd, late Rector of this parish, aged 55, Dec. 20, 1770.' 'Francis Allen, Farmer, killed by a Blow from the sails of Mr. Dearman's mill, Aug. 6, 1774.' 'Cornelia Bertruda Piers, wife of John Howard, late widow of Sir John Piers, Bart., Jan. 23, 1777.' '1783, Here the Tax on Burials commences'; 'inspected March 1, 1785, W^m Meggy, Tax.'

Marriages are in the middle of the book, from April 7, 1733, to 1753, in Rector Thomas Ralph's hand; and continued to June 21, 1754, this Register being closed by Hardwicke's Act. Among the entries is 'Phillip Gretton, D.D. and Mrs. Elizabeth Shipcote, Jan. 27, 1734/5.'

Baptisms are at the end reversed, from 1732, six leaves in Rector Ralph's hand, to July 8, 1753. A note follows that Pierce Lloyd was inducted March 17, 1755, and entries are in his hand to Aug. 26, 1770. The entries are rough and irregular to 1772, with note of the omissions and neglect of Curate Scott; then two pages of 1772 to March 9, 1777, written up; and two pages to Fryerning baptisms, 1772–1777, and two baptisms of Buttsbury, Oct. 29, and Nov. 15, 1775, and blank leaves. Then entries of 1777 and 1778, with Curate Jenner's hand Dec. 25, 1778, to Sept. 17, 1787; Curate W. Herringham's hand, Nov. 16, 1787, to March 23, 1792; then John Lewis, jun., Curate, and Rector 1796; and so regularly to July 4, 1803. There are many private baptisms, including 'John Wood, son of John Wood, half baptized (being ill) received at church Sept. 2, 1798'. The baptisms 1792–1803 are in Book III also.

Book III is of parchment, about 16 in. by 10 in. It has burials 'since the feast of St. Michael, 1792', duplicating Book II. 'Sept. 30' is the first in the hand of John Lewis, jun., curate, with his signature 'John Lewis Rector' from 1796; and so to end, Oct. 30, 1812, on six leaves; '1809 April 6 the Right Hon. Robert Edward Lord Petre Baron of Writtle buried.'

Baptisms are at the end reversed with a like title. All in the same hand, from Oct. 5, 1792, on seven leaves, to Dec. 27, 1812. The book is mostly blank, having been closed by Rose's Act. There is a terrier.

Book IV is a printed paper book of the form prescribed by Hardwicke's Act. It follows on Book II. Entries are four on a page, from Aug. 9, 1754, signed by 'Richard Meadowcroft curate', to July 26, 1812—'John Lewis Rector.' The book is unfilled, being closed by Rose's Act.

These books are in good condition, with entries interesting to the

families of Petre, Disney, Brand, Hollis. They should be compared with the books of Fryerning and of Buttsbury, as it is probable that deficiencies of one series may be supplied from the other books.

A mention occurs of the Fire of London and the Phanatic Plot.

I saw these books on July 4, 1905, by the kind permission of the Rector.

(Signed) O. W. Tancock.

Little Waltham, Aug. 3, 1905.

INGATESTONE REGISTERS

Canon O. W. Tancock has kindly verified the extracts from Book I, i.e. to 1732.

BAPTISMS

Children of Rector Antony Brasier.

1570	Margaret	dau. of Antony Brasier.
1571	Dorothea	dau. of "
1573	Joanna	dau. of "
1575	Antony	son of "
1578	Anna	dau. of "
1582	Maria	dau. of "

Children of Anthony Brasier jun. (?).

1607	June 8th	Johanna	dau. of Anthony Brasier.
1608		Johanna	"
1609		Anthony	son of "
1611		Elizabeth	dau. of "
1612	April	Edward	son of "
1613	August	Elizabeth	dau. of " m. Wm. Garfoot of the Hyde.
1614		Francis	son of "
1615		John	son of "
1616		Martha	dau. of "

Children of Edward Brasier son of Anthony Brasier jun.

1635	Anthony	son of Edward Brasier.
1638	Mary	dau. of "
1640	Elizabeth	dau. of "
1645	Margaret	dau. of " and Margaret his wife.
1647	Katherine	dau. of "

Children of Thomas Brasier.

1648	Mary	dau. of Thomas Brasier and Mary his wife.
1646	Anthony	son of " "
1647	Martha	dau. of " "
1649	Samuel	twin son } of "
	and Hope-Stil	and dau. } of "

Children of Anthony Brasier, son of Edward Brasier.

1659	Margaret dau. of Anthony Brasier and Mary his wife.		
1663	John son of	"	"
1665	Martha dau. of	"	"
1675	Thomas son of	"	Katherine his wife.
1677	Elizabeth dau. of	"	"
1678	Martha dau. of	"	"
1679	Anthony son of	"	"
1681	John son of	"	"
1683	Edward son of	"	"

Children of Rector John Wyllys.

1631	Henry son of John Wyllys—'Rector Resident of this Parish'.		
1632	Edward son of	"	"
1633	William son of	"	"
1634	Jane dau. of	"	"
1635	Ann dau. of	"	"
1637	Alexander son of	"	"
1638	Mary dau. of	"	"
1639	Rachel dau. of	"	"
1643	Benjamin son of	"	"
1645	Sarah dau. of	"	"

Children of John Glascock, Clerk [Vicar of Blackmore, and perhaps Curate to Mr. Ewer].

1675	Dorothy daug: of John Glascock, Clerk and Elizabeth his wife.		
1676	John son of	"	"
1678	James son of	"	"
1680	William son of	"	"
1682	Sarah daug: of	"	"
1683	Mary dau. of	"	"
1686	Francis son of	"	"

Children of Nathaniel Reeve, Clerk, and Mary (Ewer) his wife—Rector of Twinsted (and Curate to Mr. Ewer).

1687	John son of Nathaniel Reeve and Mary his wife.		
1688	Mary dau. of Nathaniel Reeve, Curate, and Mary his wife, born Nov. 16, bap. Nov. 17.		

1690 Anne, dau. of Nathaniel Reeve, Curate, and Mary his wife.

[The entries of these children are written in a different hand, and probably they were not born here.]

1560 John Middleton son of Thomas Middleton.

1561 Martha da: of Henry Bourne.

Catherina dau. of John Clyffe.

Ludovicus son of Ambrose Blakney.

William son of William Barrowes.

1559 John Silvester son of John Silvester.

George Bonde s. of John Bonde.

William Clarke s. of Richard Clarke.

1562 John Cliffe son of John Clyffe Jun^r.

Johanna Humffrey d. of Thomas Humffrey.

1563 Gertrude Talbot d. of John Talbot, armig(er).

Anna Tabor d: of Humffrey Tabor.

Rebecca Raulyn d: of John Raulyn.

Thomas Samforth s. of Simon Samforth.

- 1566 Anna Holmsteede d. of Th. Holmsteede.
 1609/10 Jan. 1st. William son of Thomas Beard.
 [This may possibly be the intruded Rector of Fryerning, 1645.]
 1616 William son of John Tublin Dowglasse.
 1617 Elizabeth dau. of Thomas Glascock.
 1628 Rose Pettiward dau. of John Pettiward of ffryerning.
 Margaret dau. of William March.
 Margaret dau. of John Royley then Tapster at the blou boare in the parish of ffryering.
 1629 John Petre y^e son of M^r Robert Petre and Mary his wife was baptised June y^e 24th.
 1631 Francis Petre, the sonne of M^r Robert Petre eldest sonne of the R^t Hon^{ble} William Lord Petre was baptiz'd (as I was inform'd for it was done in my absence) Nouem. 3 1631.
 Henry Wyllys the sonne of John Wyllys, Rector Resident of this parish was baptized June 13 1631.
 1632 Mary Sharpe daughter of William Sharpe bap May 23.
 Elizabeth daughter of John Leucke.
 1634 Elizabeth Garfoot the daughter of M^r William Garfoot was baptized. March. 27.
 1635 Dorotheie dau. of M^r Robert Petre (as I was informed) April 13 1635.
 1636 Daniel son of Daniel Linsey.
 Ursula Garfoot dau. of M^r Will Garfoot.
 1638 Susan dau. to Will Garfoot.
 1639 John son of William Maridg.
 1640 Jane dau. of M^r Peter Whetcomb.
 1641/2 Mary dau. of Thomas Brazier and Mary his wife.
 1644 Mary dau. of George Evans.
 1647 John son of John Smith of ffurther Hide.
 1654 Thomas son of Richard Marcal of Tilekilns and Kinborows.

Very few entries were made between 1638 and 1662, i.e. the disturbed period before and during the Commonwealth time, but they were written up by Rector Ewer at the later date. Indeed, it was not until Mr. Ewer succeeded the ejected Rector Wyllys that the Register was kept at all correctly.

- 1654 Ann dau. of John Skull and Ann.
 1656 John son of John Beard and Elizabeth.
 1657 Elizabeth dau. of John Beard.
 1661/2 Mary the daughter of John Ewer (then curate) at Sawbridgworth in Hertfordshire, and Barbara his wife. March y^e 10th, 1661/2, born the 2nd, being Sunday.
 1663 Elizabeth dau. of William Osburn.
 1664 June 16th. John the son of John Ewer Rector and Barbara his wife, buried in St. Stephan's, Walbrooke Decemb^r . . . 1666.
 Oct. 10. Rose the daughter of M^r Alexander Prescott jun^r and Humiliation his wife.
 1666 Henry y^e son of John ffoot and Susanna his wife September 2nd y^e day of y^e fire of London.
 1671 Dec. Alexander son of M^r Alexander Prescott and Humiliation his wife.
 1672 Joan dau. of Edward Sache and Mary.
 1676 Dec. 17th. baptized Lucy, the d^d of John Donn a Piper of Stepney

- dwelling (as hee told mee) neer y^e Nag's Head Inn in White-chappel and Susannah his wife delivered Tues^d y^e 2nd great snow, in Ingatestone Hal stable.
- 1678 William the son of William Crumpe and Ursula his wife of Colmar in Upper Alsatia, November y^e 10th, 1678. The child born at y^e George Inn in y^e Parents' journeying to Walthamstow.
- 1679 Elizabeth d. of — Chapman a pedlar and Elizabeth his wife, shee was delivered at Ingatestone-hal.
William son of John Clarke late of Blackmore and Susanna.
Elizabeth dau. of M^r Richard How and Grace.
Jeremiah son of Jeremiah Clarke of Potter-row and Mary.
- 1680 Elizabeth dau. of William Clark of St Botolph's Algate, Shoemaker and Mary his wife. the s^d Mary lay in at her Mother Mariot's at y^e Lion.
Jeremiah son of Jeremiah Clarke and Sarah of new gift¹ houses in Rawlin's.
Margaret dau. of W^m White of y^e Swan in ffriering and Margaret.
Katherine the dau. of Abraham Banister a wandering broomman and last (as he s^d) of Witham in Essex, and Sarah his wife deliver'd in Ingatestone-hall Barn.
- 1681 John son of John Coverly and Mary his wife of Stepney Parish near Wel-close (as he declar'd) y^e child born at Ingatestone-hal.
- 1682 Robert son of John Sorril of ffriering and Dorothy.
John son of M^r Richard How and Grace.
- 1683 were baptized William, first because of extre^m danger and Grace born the first of the two, the twin children of William Nevil of ffriering and Grace.
Elizabeth dau. of John White (Upland) and Elizabeth.
Elizabeth Clark Sunday Sept. 9th 83, being Thanksgiving-day for discovery of Phanatick Plot.
- 1684 John the son of Adam Eve and Mary his wife.
John Sorrell of ffriering.
William fuller of ffriering.
William son of William Sutton and Mary his wife. Shee fell in labour at the Cross Keys in their journey by pass to Bright-helmester in Suffex, com^{ty} Bredhemfo (i. e. Brighton).
- 1685 April 24. George Ammot born y^e 23th St George's and Coronation of King James y^e 2nd.
William fuller blacksmith.
Jan. 30th Mary, daughter of Dorothy Pierce born y^e same day in y^e church porch.
- 1686 Mary (only alive born of 3, viz. a son and dd beside) the dd of John Ballard and Mary his wife.
Jane the daughter of Jeremiah Clark ffbruary y^e 6th at church on Sunday the King's-day.
John y^e son of John Clark : Baker.
- 1687 John son of Antony Sawel of ffriering.

- 1691 June 20. Tho: the son of the Right Honble Thomas Lord Petre and the Lady Mary his wife.
- 1695 Sarah dau: of Thomas Sandford and Katherine.
- 1697 July 8. Thomas posthumous son of Thomas Clutterbuck Esq and the Lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.
- 1698 Anthony son of Thomas Brasier and Elizabeth.
- 1699 Robert son of Adam Eve of Lower Hide } near } the Cock.
 John son of John Sawel and Elizabeth } of }
 James son of William Brewer and Anne }
 Bridget da: of Edward Carteret Esq and the Lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.
- 1701 Susanna dau. of John White, carpenter, and Grace.
 Mary dau. of John Jeofreys, labourer, and Sarah, at y^e Cock.
 the Duplicate sent to Commissioners for the last half Year.
- 1701 George son of the Hon^{ble} Edward Carteret Esq: and the Lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.
- 1701/2 Robert son of John White of Green Street and Margaret. Feb. 3 great wind and rain.
 Elizabeth dau. of Thomas Boreham of Handley Green.
- 1702 Margaret dau. of Thomas Clarke Parish Clark and Sarah.
 Jacob son of Jacob Reynolds of Handly Green, and Elizabeth.
 Elizabeth. at 3 years of age y^e da: of Thomas Richmond sojourner at M^r Nicholl's of ffrian, and Jane his wife.
 Samuel being 5 weeks old son of William White of y^e Croff-Keys, and Mary.
 Edward son of y^e Hon^{ble} Edward Carteret Esq^r, and y^e lady Bridget Sudbury his wife.
- 1703 Thomas son of Richard Seymer by private Baptism at y^e Dolphin in ffryerning.
 Francis base son of Margaret White, and as avouched by her of Wm. flint.
- March 8th 1703/4 Thomas Graves . . . March y^e 8th y^e 1st Queens day.
- 1704 Anne-Isabella da: of Edward Carteret Esq^r and of Dame Bridget his wife.
 Richard-Edmund son of Isaac Percival of ffryering and Johanna (Ewer) his wife. June the 20th, born y^e 19th Monday.
 Edward-Eldred son of Thomas Sandford of Trueloves and Katherine born at his town house in ffryering, June 21st.
 William son of William Snow of Handley Green and Margaret.
 Elizabeth da: of Thomas Shuttleworth of Handley-barns and Elizabeth.
- 1705 Charlotte da: of Edward Carteret Esq and of Dame Bridget his wife.
 John son of John Glascock jun^r and Elizabeth (Powel) his wife.
 Mary da. of George Harris and Jane his wife of y^e Tile-kilns.
 Anne da. of John Stimpson and Frances. December y^e 8th.
 Stormy wind and snow.
 Born (and sō) after Baptised, William y^e sonne of Robert Hinde and Frances his wife. Robert Hinde, Gardener.
 Mary da. of John Jefferies of y^e Eagle and Mary his wife.
 Anne da. of Will^m Cooper, Tayler, and Anne his wife.
- 1706 Mary da. of William Cornish of Potter-row and Esther his wife.
 Anne da. of Richard Watson of y^e Bell Inn and Sarah his wife.

The Act for Births, Burialls, Marriages, &c., from May y^e 1st, 1695, expired August y^e 1st 1706.

- 1706 John the son of John Rogers of Greenstreet and Grace his wife.
Philip the son of Edward Carteret Esq and Bridget his wife.
William son of William Brett, Cooper, and Martha his wife.
William son of William flint of ffriering and Martha (Burril) his wife.
Anne da. of Thomas Boreham and Mary his wife, by M^r Thos. Ralph. I sick. Nov. 21.
Thomas son of Edward Lawrence, Wheelwright, and Rebekah.
the 2nd John, son of John Glascock jun^r and of Elizabeth.
John y^e son of Temperance Russel a Vagrant from Writtle.
- 1707 Thomas son of George Kebel of ffryering and Elizabeth, May y^e 22th, Ascension day.
Sarah da. of Daniel Copsey of Handley-green and Sara his wife.
William son of Thomas Bayley, Tayler, and Elizab. his wife.
John son of John Dowset and Jane his wife from — Dawson's of Mil Grēe.
Elizabeth, da. of James Tyler of ffryering, Wagoner, and Elizabth his wife.
Thomas, son of John Hilliard of ffryering and Mary (Peak) his wife.
- 1708 Dorothy da. of William Sorril, Shoemaker, and Priscilla his wife.
April y^e 6th, Easter Tuesday.
James son of John Glascock jun^r and Elizabeth.
- 1709 Abigail son of James Snow and Sarah his wife. October 3^d.
- 1710 John son of James Glascock and Elizabeth his wife.
- 1711 Eliz da. of James Glascock and Elizabeth his wife.
- 1713 Richard son of John Ames.
- 1714 Thomas son of Henry Hokely.
Mary da. of Ralph Dugard.
Mary da. of John Jessop.
Elizabeth da. of Richard Playford of Poplar.
John son of John Outfield.
Robert son of Richard Jones, defunct.
Frances da. of James Markwel.
- 1715 Susanna da. of John Gough.
James son of Henry Rumbol.
- 1716 Thomas son of John Dowset.
Robert son of William Sorrel.
Henry son of William Goulston.
Charity da. of Thomas Godwin.
Joanna da. of Francis Sowel.
Mary da. of William Bartlett.
- Thomas Ralph Rector inducted y^e
24th day of November 1716.
- 1717 Elizabeth da. of Stephen Perry.
William son of William Marden.
Thomas son of Thomas Shipman.
John son of John Wilsmore and Rebecca his wife.
William son of John Ames.
Joseph son of Richard Paperil.
Francis son of Francis Reeve.
- 1718 Anthony son of Anthony Butt of y^e parish of Bliburgh in Suffolk.
Eleanor da. of Richard and A'na Cambridge.

- 1719 Thomas son of Robert Sorrel of y^e Parish of Fryerning.
Dorothy da. of James Glascock.
John son of John and Katherine Fuller of y^e Parish of Fryering.
- 1720 Samuel son of John Saltmarsh.
Arthur son of John Hog of y^e Parish of Fryerning.
Margaret da. of Edward Stokes.
- 1721 William son of Ezekiel Bannister of y^e Parish of Fryering.
Uriah son of Uriah Wilsmore.
Thomas son of William Sorrel.
- 1722 Joanna da. of Ephraim Saywel.
Charles son of Richard Goulsbourough.
- 1723 Peter son of Peter Hewson.
Ann da. of Justinian James of Fryering.
Thomas son of Robert Wood.
John son of John Watts.
John son of John and Elizabeth Stokes.
Mary da. of John Gott of Crutchet Friers in London.
John son of Charles and Sarah Burdock.
- 1724 Mary da. of William Sutton.
Sarah da. of Rob^t Eve of Mountnessing.
John son of John Snow.
George son of George Soames.
- 1725 Thomas son of Edward Eldred Sandford.
Mary da. of John Coe.
John the son of a traveller (born in a barn at Ingatestone Hall)
bap. March y^e 18th.
- 1726 William the son of Nicolas Morrice (an Oxfordshire person), bap.
Sept. 9th.
- 1731 Thomas son of Thomas Oddyn of Fryerning. [This may be
another form of the now well-known name Oddy.]

In 1731 and 1732 occur the baptisms of soldiers' children in 'Capt. Hayes Company belonging to the Regiment of Major-Gen. Whetham'. Also soldiers' children in 1736, 1740, 1743, 1744, and in 1755 'Capt. Booth's Company of Col. Price's Regiment'.

- 1741 Robert son of Robert Sorrel, Grocer.
- 1742 Esther Osborne y^e mother of y^e above said child, being never
baptiz'd before was baptiz'd Jan. y^e 8th.
- 1743 Sorrel Shoemaker.
- 1745 Isaac y^e son of John Shed. N.B. that this child of Shed's is said
to have been named Jacob. 1762. P. Lloyd.
- 1746 Mary Leighton being 24 years of age was baptiz'd.
- 1748 Abraham y^e son of John Shed.

Pierce Lloyd was inducted March 17, 1755.

- 1757 Henry Eve an adult of Writtle Parish.
- 1758 Benjamin son of Andrew Lee of S^r Cha. Howard's Reg^t and Cap^t
Chandly's Comp.
- Moses son of Moses Martyn a soldier in Cornwallis Regim^t.

60 to 1770, and in 1794 and 1796, there are many entries
privately baptized.

- 1763 Henry son of Henry and Mary Blinco Aug. 26th. [The parents were married at Fryerning:
1744 Henry Blencow Esq^r of Grey's Inn and M^{rs} Mary Prescott of Thoby, March 26.]
- 1769 March 8th. Anna-Catherine da. of the Right Hon^{le} Robert Edward Lord Petre and Ann his wife was born at Ingatestone Hall and baptizd the next day as I am well informed.
- 1779 John Tyrell son of the Rev^d John Jenner and Mary Ann his wife was born May 15th 1779 and baptized June 4th 1779.
- 1780 Mary Ann daughter of the Rev^d John Jenner . . . born Aug. 20 and privately baptised Aug. 23rd, died at Broomfield Feb. 10th 1781, and was buried there.
- 1782 Thomas Tyrell son of Rev^d John Jenner.
John son of — Twyning a Lieutenant in the Pembrokehire Militia.
- 1783 'Tax on Baptisms commences here'.
Robert son of Rev^d John Jenner.
- 1784 'Inspected March 1st 1785 by Wm. Hoggy for C. Frost Collector.'
- 1785 Mary dau. of Rev^d John Jenner. [M^r Jenner was curate during this time.]
- 1790 William Allan son of the Rev. William Herringham and Ann his wife. [He was curate at this time.]
- 1792 'Tax on Baptisms p^d to this time to Wm Cla . . .'
- 1793 George son of John Saunder a private in the 30th Regt. Aug 14. 1793.
- 1798 Jan. Mary Elizabeth dau. of James Anderton (Quarter master in the Ayrshire Fencible Cavalry).
John son of John Welch (a private in the Ayrshire L^t Dragoons).
John Wood son of John Wood was half baptiz'd (being ill), received at Church September 2nd 1798.
- 1803 John Heatley son of John Lewis by Harriott his wife. [This was the Rector, John Lewis, jun.]
- 1805 Richard son of John Lewis privately baptised.
- 1807 Charles Carne son of John Lewis privately baptised.
- 1809 Harriott dau. of John Lewis by Harriott his wife, was born Nov^{br} 11th was privately baptiz^d December 15th received into y^e Congregation Jan. 19th 1810.
- 1811 Sarah Julia, dau. of John Lewis.

In 1810 a family of Smith's were baptized, and in 1812 a family of Hoggs.

MARRIAGES

- 1570 George Yonge and Alice Brasier.
- 1572 Thomas Baker gen^t and Grysill Barners. 23 October.
- 1573 William Tomalyn and Susanna Pynchion.
- 1574 John Tayler and Margaret Ponde.
- 1578 Henry Williams and Dionisia Smythe.
- 1580 Richard Clyffe and Elizabeth Foster.
- 1582 Thomas Bearde and widow Dale.
- 1584 Edward Lucas and Barbara Fuller.
- 1587 Edward Foster and Alice Hogge.
- 1588 John Silvester and Lovia Taylor.
- 1588 Thomas Robiont and Elizabeth Cleffe.
- 1591 William Evans and Dorothy Porter.
Robert Clarke and Dorothy Brasier.

- 1594 Robert Bearde and Margaret Brasier.
 1597 Nicolas Rawlyn and Joanna Cockerell.
 1600 John Petre miles and Margaret Foster widow.
 1602 John Burre and Mary Fuller.
 1603 George Elkyn and Thomasin Browne widow.
 Thomas Sawbrige and Mary Shettlewood.
 1605 Robert Taylor and Mary Petcheye.
 Thomas Elye and Judith Tundbridge.
 1609 Richard Stockbridge and Agnes Curtis.
 Edmund Foster and Ester Tomalyn.
 1610 (*sic*) Orliver Gatward and Mary Brasier.
 William Saunders of Coxsall¹ and Anne Saunders of y^e same town.
 1611 James Gylder and Jone Hogge.
 1612 Philip Breet and Marget Silvester.
 1613 John Wittam and Christan Foster.
 folks Middleton and Adrye Humfrey.
 1617 John Foster and Maryan Ladamore.
 Edward Hawkins and Marie Fuller.
 1618 Hughe Kennard and Anne Foster. [A great many Fosters here-
 abouts.]
 Henerie Smythe and Marie Rogers.
 1619 Samuel White, clerk and Catherin pine.
 Francis Combers and Marye Ironmonger.
 1622 William Seache and Joane Byrd.
 John Fearman and Eliza Gouldringe.
 1624 Nathaniell Sawell and Joane Goare, wyddow.
 1626 Richard Hayward and Anne Body of fryerning.
 Francis Baynton and Anis Cliffe.
 1627 Daniel Nash and Anne Tublin.
 1628 John Kettle and Anne Palmer.
 1629 Simon Cooper and Anne Liquorice (vidua).
 Richard Maridge and Elizabeth Pease (vidua).
 1630 John Golding and Joyce Richman.
 William Hampshire and Jane Tabor (vidua).
 1667 John Hilliard and Katharine Cleveland.
 John Odden and Anne Harvard.
 Thomas Ward and Mary Meade both of Mountnessing.
 1668 John White and Elizabeth Monk.
 1669 William Shettleworth, widd^r and Elizabeth Powel, single w.
 1670 Benjamin Drinkmilk and Mary Stratton [first entry for year].
 Samuel Clarke of this parish and Susanna Witham of Buttesbury.
 John Mynes and Sarah ffreshwater [last entry of year].
 1671 Christopher Mariot and Mary Drinkmilk widdow.
 1672 John Huland and Mary Barns of Maulder.
 1673 John Ballard and Anne Mariot.
 Thomas Lucas of White Roding and Elizabeth Aylet of ffifield.
 1674/5 Anthony Brasier and Katharine Fuller widd.
 Thomas Graves and Ann Selfscare.
 1676 Richard Knightbridg and Sarah Wood.
 Samuel Brown of S^oWeale and Mary Tyrrel of Great Thorndon.
 William Summers a Trooper and Zipporah Harris.
 Benjamin Clarke of ffriering and Mary Drury serv^t at ye' Bel.
 Thomas Dale jun and Elizabeth Walhead.

¹ = Coggeshall. O. W. T.

- 1681 Thomas Nicholas and Mary Turner of Duddenhurst. Mr. Morrys Lic. [Some annotated here 'Morrys', many outsiders being married here by licence.]
- 1682 William Dawson and Ann Horsnail.
Walter Desborough and Sarah Haggar.
Thomas Maridg Widd^r of Layndon and Susanna Stowers our serv^t/Dec. 7th.
- 1684 M^r Samuel Bayley and Elizabeth Reddock.
M^r Thomas Smith, curate of ffordham, and Dame Anne Luckyn of Blackmore.
- 1685 John Witham and Elizabeth Harris.
John Fordham and Ann Thompson both from M^r Sam^l Bayley's.
Dec. 31 M^r Nathaniel Reeve Rector of Twinsted and Mary Ewer.
John Stratton and Sarah Hildyard.
- No entries from 1686 to 1695.
- 1696 Thomas Clutterbuck Esquire and the Lady Bridget Sudbury.
M^r Richard Hind and M^{rs} Anne Bush.
- 1698 William Brett and Martha Brasier.
- 1702 Joseph Mott and Martha Bangs.
- 1703 John Taverner of Baddow-Magna and Elizabeth Watts.
- 1706 William Ray Clerk of West Haningfield and Mary Tabor of Ramsden Bell-House.
- 1707 John Smith of Upminster and Mary Uridg.
- 1713 John Fuller and Catherine Pavett.
- 1714 Joseph Whaley and Margaret Plat.
- 1715 Burles Horsnel of Much Waltham and Elizabeth Hutson of Much Lees.
John Bartlett and Margaret Ames.
John Wilsmore and Elizabeth Ewer.
- 1719 Richard Markwell and Esther Snow.
- 1721 Thomas Osborne of the parish of Margareting and Mary Dennis of Brentwood.
- 1723 Edward Eldred Sandford and Martha Bundock.
- 1724 William Dawson and Mary Glascock.
- 1725 Joseph Collard and Elizabeth Farrar.
- 1726 Richard Dale and Catherine Witham.
Hugh Loveday and Martha Long.
- 1728 Thomas Bull and Rebecca Hilliard.
- 1731 W^m Carter and Sarah Turnidge.
- 1732 Thomas Tracy a Souldier in y^e Company of Captain Hayes and Sarah Effield.
- 1733 John Jaques of the parish of Epping single man and Mary Setch of y^e parish of Ingatestone single woman.
- 1734 M^r William Croft of St. Dunstan's in y^e West, London and M^{rs} Mary Shapcote of Springfield spinster.
Phillip Gretton D.D. and M^{rs} Elizabeth Shapcote.
- 1736 Thomas Starling and Margaret Camp.
- 1739 M^r Edmund Strudwicke of y^e Parish of St. Anne in y^e Liberty of Westminster and M^{rs} Mary Lucas of Shipdam Norfolk spinster.
- 1745 Edward Cook, a Dragoon in S^r Robert Rich's Regiment and Diana Kilbraith.
- 1746 Thomas Jones a Dragoon in S^r Robert Rich's Regiment, and Mary Sayer.

- 1748 Mr George Fletcher, Clerk, Vicar of Much Baddow and Mrs Elizabeth Muswell of same parish.
[In a very large proportion of the weddings between 1733 and 1752 neither party was a parishioner.]
- 1750 Mr Thomas Clapton surgeon of St. Margaret's Westminster and Mrs Catherine Haven, of Stambourne.
- 1751 Thomas Barefoot and Mary Clark.
Shaw King Esq and Catherine Slany.
- 1755 George Fieschi Heneage Esq of Hainton co. Lincoln and the Hon^{ble} Catherine Ann Petre. The Arch-Bp's License is lodg'd in L^d Petre's evidence House at West Thorndon Hall.
- 1756 Richard Thompson (wheelwright) and Martha Stokes.
James Davies (a soldier) and Rebecca Coller.
- 1757 Guy Pennock and Anne Davy.
John Bachus and Ann Dalton, witness John Coverdale.
Sir Charles Hotham of Scarborough in the County of York Bar^t a Batchelor and Clare Anne Clutterbuck of the parish of St James Westminster in the County of Middlesex a spinster were married in Fryerning Church by the Archbishop's License 31 Oct. 1757 by me Pierce Lloyd, Rector of Ingatestone: witnesses Gertrude Hotham, Melusina Hotham.
- 1760 Michael Green and Ann Knight.
- 1761 John Coverdale and Ann Wade.
- 1763 William Warburton a soldier in Ld. Albemarle's Regim^t and Susannah Skinner.
John Rolf and Moneca Bull. [He signs himself Roof, and she Moneakey bull. Most people at this time could only make their mark.]
- 1764 William Carkbread and Elizabeth Matthew.
Thomas Boreham and Dorothy Brasier. [She makes her mark.]
- 1766 John Holland and Hannah Hompstead.
- 1767 Matthew Skingley and Ann Turner.
William Ray and Elizabeth Marden.
- 1770 John Cass, Clerk of Buttesbury and Mary Jeggens.
- 1771 Matthew Perry and Caroline Deadman.
- 1773 James Efftell and Elizabeth Gates.
- 1778 John Coverdale widdower and Ann Cass, spinster.

Up to the end of the century we find the following amongst other names: Cramp, Juniper, Cable, Choler, Bundork, Dearman, Fitch, Lawrence, Hathaway, Cadge, Vince, Angar, Sly, Green, Treadgold, Purkis, Pearman. Sitch, Greatholder, Adkins, Gardiner.

FUNERALS

The following are a few of the more interesting entries: the selection has been made partly to show the names of old houses, inns, and localities, and who lived in them in old days; partly to show the names, many of which are still amongst us. Also, any curious surnames are noted, such as Bacchus (which is said to be a corruption of bakehouse, and another form of Baker); and uncommon Christian names such as Cleopatra, Hopestil, and Dionysia.

The names with an asterisk occur with more or less frequency; the spelling often varies, and the forms of the names change.

Names in Ingatestone Funeral register before 1600.

Wolston, *Smithe, *Humffrey, *Clarke, *Bonde, Compton, *Tabor, *Silvester, Parkyn, *Springfield, Hogge, Huntman, *Foster, *Ponde, *Byrde, *Finch, Pyne, Gyldarow, *Paperell, Golding, *Fuller, *Marsh, Hymstall, Lockin, Childe, *Tillinghurst, Stevens, Dawes, Mablyn, Monde, Fynne, *Butt, Porter, Wheeler, Pinchin, *Dale, *Chamberlain, *Finche, Filborne, Sakin, Lande, *Pawlin, *Cliffe, *Brasier, Compton, Maynard, Coole, Collis, *Blakney, *Bullefante, Gatte, Wall, Watton, *Catherall, Gynkins, Robiont, Sturgeon, Mante, *Srott, Lucas, *Sawell, Stringer, *Dawson, Gugley, Bonner, Sharpe, Wilton, *Wood, *Eley, *Burners (Berners?), *Reynolds, Gilbert, Streete, Hille, Birknor, Abraham, Hamlyn, Cheston, *Browne, *Potiger, Baker, Sawell, and many others.

Many of these continue with these additions from

1600 to 1750.

Eliot, Tomalyn, Crampe, Beard, Marcal, Wall, Wilson, Shed, Pushon, Sharpe, *Sorrell, Copper, Nokes, Buliavant, Landman, Murke, Chalke, Farrington, Rame, Garffoot, Worthington, Eldred, Sache, Stratton, Sawkin, Goer, Goare, Griggs, Guernsey, Emerton, Huntmann, Hill, and many others.

- 1558 12^{mo} die Augusti sepultus fuit Johes *Rawlyn filius Johis Rawlyn.
 21^{mo} die Augusti sepulta fuit Isabella *Mylles.
 xv^o die Januarij sepulta fuit Margareta *Clyffe.
- 1559 March. Elena Handswicke Lond.
- 1561 xv^{mo} Januarij. Anna Eliot Lond.
- 1566 Mariana Glascocke.
- 1571 Agnes Bourne uxor Henrici Bourne.
 17^{mo} die Februarij sepultus fuit dñs Willmus Petre Eques auratus.
- 1574 Salomon Mydleton son of Johes Mydleton.
- 1576 Elizabeth da. of Wm Andrewes, Lond.
- 1582 decimo die Aprilis sepulta fuit dñā Anna Petre.
- 1585 Philologus Emson.
 Richard Clyffe.
- 1589 Margeria England.
- 1590 Robertus Petre filius Joh^{is} Petre militis.
- 1593 Thomas Sturgyn.
 Sepulti fuerunt Thomas Elders et Anna Bushe.
 11 October. Robert Petre, gen^o.
 25 October. Anna Petre.
- 1595 Mulier errabunda noñe incognita et postero die ipsius proles.
- 1597 Johanna Leaver.
- 1598 Edwardus Graye servus Johis Petre militis.
- 1595 ultimo die Februarij sepultus fuit Johes Silvester de Spilfeathers.
- 1596 Elizabetha Burrows uxor Johis Burrows de Bylerikey.
 Emma Bradshawe.
 Johes Bentley, gen^o.
- 1597 vidua Dowsett.
 Johanna Leaver filia Willm Leaver.
 Item xxv die Augusti sepulta fuit Maria Conwin quae sinistro

- plaustri adventu diem obiit ['who by the unlucky oncoming of
a wagon met her death'¹, i. e. was run over].
- 1598 Richardus Earley filius Radulphi Earley Lond.
Margareta Baker uxor^r Johis Baker.
same day Richardus filius Johis Baker.
proles Willm̄i Soykes, Londoniensis.
decimo septimo die Novembris sepultus fuit Johes Deacon.
- 1599 Rosa Baker vidua.
Petrus Baker filius Johis Baker.
Thomas Charlton (?) servus Johis Petre militis.
- 1600 Alicia How filia Johanis How Londoniensis.
- 1602 Phillippus How filius Johannis How Londoniensis.
Thomas Hogge servus Will Petre, armigeri.
Johanes Tyrel.
- 1603 Rebecca Abraham filia Thom⁹ Abraham.
- 1604 7^{mo} April. Johes Petre filius Willm̄i Petre, militis.
Franciscus Cliffe filius Johes Cliffe.
Johanis Stokes.
William Baron son of Cleophas Baron.
Maria Petre uxor honorabilis viri Johis Petre.
- 1605 september George the Sayer (? = Sawyer) aīſ ye (?) lame.
- 1609 23 Oct. was buried Anthonye Brasier Clarke.
- 1609/10 Jane Brasier wydowe was buried 3rd March.
- 1610 Anne Petre daughter of Sir William Petre.
- 1611 Marye daughter of Anthony Brasier.
Seventh daye of February the wife of William Tublyn was
buried.
Alsie was the name as I am informed by my Sexton John Tublyn
who was her sonne, testor Johannes Wyllys, Rector.
John Silvester of hanley Street.
- 1612 John Cliffe son of Humsfrey Clyffe.
Thomas Golden son of John Gouldinge.
Mother Denies of the Allms-house.
Elizabeth da. of Anthony Brasier.
- 1613 Oct: 29 John Lord Petre.
- 1614 Was buried Anne Clyffe gentell woman y^e wife of John Clyffe
gentellman.
Was buried Mother Hogge.
Was buried Goodwyf Barnard.
Was buried the wife of gerory² Bradshawe.
- 1616 William ffynch son of Robert ffynch.
ixth of May, Joane Brasier da. of Anthony Brasier.
y^e same day benseben Price son of William Price.
1st August. Francis Brasier son of Anthony Brasier.
10th August. Peter Sawell and his wife.
Nathaniell Osbourne single man 24 January.
John Osbourne a stranger 28 February.
George a servuant to Wm Marshe.
Widow Walker alias Hall.
[There were 46 deaths entered this year, 14 in April and May,
9 in August.]

¹ I am indebted to Canon Tancock for deciphering and explaining the above;
'diem obiit', 'met her day', classical for 'met her death'. Wagons were not so
common at this date as later. ² (!) for Gregory.

- 1617 Alice the relicte of Thomas Poole.
Michael Foster an almsman.
Alyce Beard an almswoman.
- 1620 Elizabeth wyfe of Rychard Ironmonger.
- 1621 Mistress Elizabeth Clyffe.
- 1622 John Petre Esquor 3 January.
Mother Robinson an almswoman.
Emerye the sonne of Emery Brookman and Agnes his wyfe.
- 1624 Mother Browne of y^e Hide Halle.
- 1625 Hughe Landman a Farmer.
William Rule a poor boy of Leigh.
Thomas Finch an aged man.
John Jenkin servant to Richard Humphrey.
That Noble gentleman M^r Thomas Petre brother to y^e right Honourable William L^d Petre was buried in y^e New Chappell of y^e afforesaid William L^d Petre Oct. 24th.
Nicolas Rawlins of y^e Cross Keyes.
Susan wife of Christopher Cornwell of y^e Bell.
- 1626 Walter Browne a shoemaker Nov. 3.
William Browne, y^e Sawyer, killed in a sawe pit, Nov. 9.
Abraham Shuttleworth of Handley Barns.
[sic] ——— servant unto Goodman John Bernard.
John Petre (a Twin and y^e younger of y^e twaine), y^e sonne of Robert Petre Esq and Mary his wife was buried at y^e Head of of his father's great grandfather, Sir William Petre, in y^e Almesfolk's chappel, 4 Feb.
Richard Humphrey a shoemaker.
Robert Ely one of my Ld William Petre's Almesmen.
- 1627 Edward ffooster an aged man and a bricklayer who was killed by a fall from an apple tree.
- 1628 Thomas Harvie y^e birdcatcher.
Robert Petite who fell down and dyed suddenly in y^e street being the Hosteler at y^e Eagle in ffryerning.
John Prentice killed in y^e gravel pit by y^e fall of gravel.
Thomas Fuller y^e sonne of old William and young Mary.
Mary Harris y^e wife of John who died in Trauel, Nov. 26.
John Turner a Cow Leach.
Sarah Pease y^e wife of Robert Pease who died in child bed Dec. 27.
- 1629 George Cole Tapster at y^e George.
Joseph Dobbins a mariner of y^e parishe of Redriffe.
Edward Tilsford of y^e parish of Prittlewell (who dyed at y^e Lion in Ingatestone).
Francis Woolvet an Houshoulder.
M^{rs} Grissel Pease y^e wife of M^r Andrew Pease of y^e parish of Mountnessing.
Robert Clerke, Clerke of y^e parish.
- [*Inserted here.*] { John Baker
and his son in law } clarkes of { was buried March 29 1652.
Richard Jones } y^e parish { was buried ffeb 10 1664.
William Cierk Parish Clerk was buried June y^e 11th 1691,
Bayley, December 28 1696.
- 1630 John ffooster, a bricklayer.
July 5th. M^r Thomas Gray, y^e brother-in-law of M^r William

- Garffoot, was buried in y^e parish church he lyeth in y^e North Alley below y^e pulpit downwards.
- 1630 Thomas Markall of the Tilekilns was buried in y^e church of Ingatestone August 4th. He lyeth in the North Alley, his feet at y^e head of M^r Gray above named and over against the north door.
- Joane Rawlin widdow y^e relict of olde Nicolas Rawlin.
- 1631 Memorable it is that in so great a parish none should die in 8 continued months. [June to March apparently.]
- 1633 A maid servant to Thomas Bird.
- Thomas Bayley servant to John Barnard.
- John Dunn servant to the R^t W^m M^r Robert Petre.
- 1635 Sarah Bridges da. of M^r — Bridges of Chelmsford.
- Thomas Fuller an old gent.
- 1636 William Petre an infant son of John Petre of West Hanningfield Esq.
- 1637 William Lord Petre Baron of Writtle buried May 12.
- 1638 John Tublin als Douglas, Clarke. Aug. 12.
- The R^t Honble Robert L^d Petre Baron of Writtle in October.
- 1641 Francis Petre Esq y^e son of y^e above s^d Robert L^d Petre.
- [Hardly any from 1638 to 1661.]
- 1647 June y^e 14^h was buried y^e Body of M^{rs} — Wylyys wife of M^r John Wylyys Rec^{tr}.
- 1661 Oct. —, M^r Nathaniel Hide.
- Nov. M^r Benjamin Hide—both from M^r Whetcomb's.
- 1662 Abel White servant to M^r Charles Heydon.
- 1663 Mary da. of M^r Richard Staines and Ann his wife on y^e south side of y^e great stone under y^e step in y^e chancel.
- Mary d. of Anthony Brasier and Mary.
- Gratian Milner a journeyman carpenter.
- William Winder Shooemaker of ffrierning with his head against y^e North doer and his feet by y^e women's Pews.
- A stilborne child of Robert Platts.
- A vagrant youth who died at Ingatestone Hall.
- Elizabeth Bird lately apprentice at y^e Eagle.
- Susannah Clarke of y^e small pox Dec. 15.
- 1664 Mary Freckelton of y^e smal pox July 6.
- Abraham Blagged sojourner at y^e Croskeys.
- Ann, infant da. of M^r Richard Stanes and Ann on y^e south side of her sister.
- Oct. 4th. M^r John Woollastone a kinsman of y^e Lord Petre's who died at the Lion.
- Richard Johns, Parish Clarke.
- 1665 May 6, John Smith (the father) } (both of y^e smal pox).
May 24, Henry Smith (the son) }
- Eleanor wife of Abraham Blagged.
- John Cockman a waggoner.
- M^r George Cheyney from y^e Eagle in ffrierning supposed of y^e plague.
- July 31. Ann Tiffany servant at y^e Stanes's, who died of y^e smal-pox.
- Katherine Clarke, one of the Almswomen, ffryan.
- Febr. 8. James Noakes of ffrierning who died of y^e plague.
- June 14 Anthony Brasier.
- July 19 was buried the Body of the Right Hon^{ble} the Lady

- Elizabeth Petre in the new chappel on y^e South side of y^e middlemost of y^e 3 cells which are next to y^e monument.
 Aug. M^{rs} Mary Statham of St. Margaret's Westminster.
 M^r Richard Butterfield from y^e White Hart in ffrierning.
- 1666 Mary infant da. of Thomas Cornish and Katherine his wife
 March 27th. drowned March 20th.
 M^{rs} Susanna Butterfield.
 March. Old Daniel Nash.
 22^d November. Susannah Smith of Stepney parish infant from the Lion of smal^r pox.
 29th November. Elizabeth Cornish wife of John Cornish aged 82 of the small pox.
 John Cornish senior aged 84.
 3^d December. Anthony Haward, of the smal pox.
 Joane Douglas als Tublyn an Almswoman.
- 1668 William y^e son of Widdw Machin killed by means of a colt (?).
 Henry Finch at upper Hide Butcher.
 John Ramsey Hosteler at y^e Bell.
 Thomas Ayley from y^e Crosskeys.
 ffrances Whalley in y^e Church, her feet to y^e Almshouse Chappel doors.
 John infant son of M^r Peter Gilstrop of St Andrewes Holburne, in y^e Church by M^{rs} Whalley.
- 1669 M^r John Petre of Margaretting Parsonage on y^e North side of y^e North east-cell in y^e new-chappel by M^r Edward Petre.
 Elizabeth infant d. of John Ewer Rector and Barbara.
 John fford, of Green Street.
 A Vagrant who call'd herself Elizabeth Bret from the Dolphin in ffrierning.
- 1670 Hopestil inf. d. of John Odden and Ann.
 Edmund Blacket from Hare Street.
 Abel Man apprentice to John Middleton.
 William son of M^r Benjamin Ayloff merchant, at y^e South west corner of y^e Chancel.
- 1671 John Freeman of Lensford in Suffolk from y^e Chequers.
 A Stilborn female child of John Pritchard's Hostler at y^e Chequers.
 Buried y^e body of . . . a decayed gentleman from y^e Dolphin.
- 1672 M^r Thomas Wilson from Ingatestone Hall Eastward from door of Almshouse Chappel West.
 Dorothy infant da. of M^r John Petre jun of ffitchalers, at y^e No. West corner of Almshouse Chappel.
 Mary Watts, from Blackmore.
 Feb. 22. M^r Joseph Gifford from Ingate- } both by each other
 stone Hall } under the window in
 Feb. 27. M^r Andrew Silliard (?) from Hide } Almshouse Chappel.
 Daniel Vessey Tapster at y^e Swan in ffrierning.
- 1673 M^r John Pulley of Margaret Rooding on y^e South side of his father's tombstone in y^e Chancel.
 Thomas Mariot of ffrierning from y^e Lion.
 y^e body of an unbaptized son of Richard Stanes Esq.
 George ffrench of y^e smal pox from M^r Waldegraves.
- 1674 M^r Thomas Brazier at my Pew Door in y^e Chancel.
 Mercy y^e wife of John Lyndsel.
- 1675 . . . Hopthrow widd. from M^r Augustin Petre's at Trueloves.
 Andrew Maultby, Glasier.

- 1676 Martha wife of M^r George Evans of ffriering.
 May { 14. Isaac } infant children of Abraham Plaile and
 { 18. Jacob } Elizabeth.
 { 18. Abraham }
 Bethiah d. of Thomas Barker and Bithiah.
 Alice d. of John Mountfort and Elizabeth— of measles.
 Mary d. of William Clark Shoemaker of St Botolph's Aldgate
 London.
 John Sheeres, cast by order from M^r Aug Petre's service on the
 Parish since Michaelmas 1675 by reason of inability &c.
 Jane and Thomas White of Upland.
- 1677 April 13th. William Burril sen^r on Good Friday.
 „ 30th. The (Skeleton) body of Joane infant da. of Thos. Cox
 and Elizabeth his wife then a Vagrāt but as she avouched of
 Stepney Parish. y^o child died at Ingatestone Hall.
 M^r Augustine Petre on y^o North Side of M^r John Clyffe's Tomb-
 stone w^{ch} is against y^o South door of middle Chancel.
 William Shuttleworth of Potter Row.
 Samuel Saunders of Handley Green.
 Thomas Wiseman from Ingatestone Hall who wandered from
 Ipswich but 6 weeks before.
 Dennison Vinton of Lower Hide.
- 1678 M^r Thomas Barker.
 Oct. 3 Alexander Sinclare an Aged Scotchman a sojourning
 Cobbler and y^o 1st buried in woollen.¹ rec^d certificate Oct. 5.
- 1679 March 30 John Smith lately disbanded at Colchester and goeing
 to his home at Manson in Wilts he died at y^o Bull in ffriering.
 March 31st M^r George Ethrington from y^o Anchor in ffrian.
 April 18 Robert Thompson a journeyman Comber who died at
 St Ann's as he was passing from Castlehevinghā in J^o Knaps
 waggon sick to his mthather in Lime Street, Strongwaterwoman.
 May 19. John Wyllys Sen^r Clarke quondā Rect^r heere.
 Ann infant da. of John Ewer and Barbara.
 Richard Bentley from Inगतstone Hail.
 Matthew Bayley y^o blind-man of Potter-row.
 Mary Helham serv^t to Christopher Mariot.
 Mary relict of Thomas Brasier.
 Meredith Williams a head-drover of Wrexā in Denbighshire he
 died at the Bell.
 Elizabeth Haward spinster of ffriering.
 25 March. Christopher Mariot of y^o smal pox.
- 1680 5th April. John Whale from Christopher Mariot's, of small pox.
 April. Mary wife of John Hodgkin of ffryering of y^o smal pox.
 M^r Richard Hammond from Hide on the south side of y³ S^o alley
 agst Hide pew.
 Elizabeth infant da. of W^m Clarke Shoemaker and Mary from y^o
 Lion.
 Nov. Old Mad Will^m Angel who died in M^r How's Stable.
 Dec. 3rd. Robert Plat apparitor.
 Jeremiah Clark of Potter-row.
- 1681 William Bird of Daws.
 William Bennet serv^t to Tho^s Stratton.

¹ First mention of burial in woollen under the Act.

- 1681 M^{rs} Katherine Guldeford of St. Edmundsbury on the South Side of the South-cel next the monuments in the new Chappel (y^e north side unstir'd).
Elizabeth Powel Midwife.
Mary Brasier, Singlewoman.
[24 funerals entered in 1681.]
- 1682 May 3 M^r Anthony Nicholas of Hide.
M^r William Gooddy of London from Mr. Barker's.
May 9. Edward Bines and
Sarah Bines his da. of smal pox } from Lower Hide.
Sept. Abraham Vinton Bricklayer.
March. M^r Henry Curtess Apothecary sojourner at the White Horse.
- 1683 Helen wife of John Shirlock of ffriering carpenter of the smal pox.
William Trapps late of Orset from William Trapps his uncle.
Was buried the Body of the Right Hon^{ble} William L^d Petre, Baron of Writtle January the 10th 1683/4 at first upon the Coffin of y^e R^t Worshipful S^r William Petre who was buried ffebruary the 12th, 1571/2 and the first in the vault, y^e 2nd was of Dame Anne his relict April 10th 1582, the 3rd was Robert Petre a Civilian and brother to S^r Williā October the 16th 1593, the 4th was John L^d Petre (y^e 1st) Baron of Writtle, buried October the 29th 1613, y^e 5th William L^d Petre &c buried May 12th 1637; y^e 6th Robert L^d Petre buried October 1638; y^e 7th W^m L^d Petre as above s^d.
Thomas Croe Aged 101 years and 2 months Jan y^e 31st.
March 2. the body of — from Ingatestone Hall a vagrant.
March 4th. The body of Jane the pretty, witty, industrious, deservedly beloved daughter of John Ewer Rec^{tr}, and Barbara his wife, aged 7 years 7 months 14 days.
Old George Ammot.
Matthew Morrys serv^t to Thomas Stratton.
Edward Sandford jnr by y^e Clark's Pew.
- 1684 January 17th was buried the Body of the R^t Hon^{ble} Mary Lady Petre Dowager on the North Side of y^e South-cel next the monuments in the New Chapel between Elizabeth Lady Petre bur^d in 1665 and M^{rs} Katherine Guldeford buried in 1681.
Was buried the body of the R^t Hon^{ble} John L^d Petre Baron of Writtle in the Vault January the 22nd 1684.
6th ffebruarij mortuus est Carolus ii D.G. &c.
Katharine d. of Richard Bevis of y^e Cross keys and Mary.
Elizabeth infant dau. of John White of Upland.
April 2nd. Mary (Petre) wife of Thomas Clark of Buttsbury, in y^e Chancel, to y^e North of her father.
April 30 were buried the bodies of
Thomas Ball, Almsman aged 94.
Hannah the relict of W^m Cornish and W^m Carter.
July. George Taylor a sojourning Cobbler.
M^{rs} Mary Wyllys single woman.
Mary y^e very aged Mother of W^m Walker of ffriering.
Jan. 10. Elizabeth wife of M^r Jasper Kinsman of } both
Horndon on y^e Hill } from
15. M^r John Carey } y^e Hall.
- 1685 Susanna ffoster (soluta).

- 1686 M^{rs} Ruth the wife of M^r Richard ffie'ding by y^e coffin of y^e Lady Eliz. Petre, buried July 19, 1665.
Old William Trapps.
Nov. Mary infant daughter of Edward Nile from y^e Cock, brickmaker at Danbury in y^e su^mer.
- 1688 Phillip White from Ingatstone Hall.
- 1689 William Tucker from y^e Lion.
- 1690 Mary (Ewer) wife of Nat^l Reeve Clē. shee died in child bed of Anne.
Anne Mariot widow of y^e Lion.
- 1691 Thomas son of Thomas L^d Petre and the Lady Mary.
Anne Petre relict of Austin Petre.
Lydia Vinton widow of Lower Hide.
- 1692 Antony Brasier of the George.
Elizabeth Ravene.
- 1693 John Abbot Wheelwright.
- 1694 M^{rs} Elizā: Petre of Margareting Parsonage.
Dame Breigett Lady Dowager Petre Jan. 10th.
Francis Reeve, Butcher.
Richard Dirkman of Lower Hide.
the body of a young unbaptized infant of M^{rs} Thomas Sandford.
Mary
- 1695 Elizabeth Ewer d. of James Ewer of Maldon and Elizabeth.
- 1696 Will Clarke Clark of y^e Parish.
- 1697 M^{rs} Francis Alston wife of James Alston Esquire.
M^r John Mountford.
- 1698 Thomas Platt Parish-Clark.
Robert Platt son of Tho. Platt deceased and Jane.
John Bell Hostler at y^e Crown.
George Marden of Hide-Green.
- 1699 Anne da. of Samuel Clarke Almsman of y^e smal pox from Wm Nevill ffrying.
Hezekiah Banister of y^e Smal-pox.
Daniel Miles a Wagoner.
Jeremiah Braynard sen^r of y^e smal-pox.
John Overill of Handley-Green.
James Austin Esq^{re} from Stifford.
John Branwood of y^e small pox.
Nathaniel Reeve Rector of Twinsted.
Elizabeth Giggoe from M^r Sewell ffrying small pox.
John Wilson infant of y^e Small pox.
Jane Browne infant of y^e Small pox.
M^{rs} Hannah Brainsford from Ingatestone hall.
March 29 Ann d. of Samuel Clarke Almsman of y^e Small pox from W^m Nevill ffrying.
Eliz. Plail da. of Widd. Plail, begger hill.
Susan Sewel maid serv^t from y^e X keys.
- 1700 Thos Powell from Ingatestone Hall.
May 23 Mary Bryant da.-in-law of Adam Haward and Mary, Vagrāts, drown'd in Charles Stanton's Pond.
M^r William ffaucet, from Hide-house.
Edward Loveday from Potteroe.
y^e body of a travailing person from y^e Bell Inn.
Aug. 20. Was buried the body of John, the pretty, witty, deservedly beloved son of Thomas Taylor, Curate, and Ann his wife.

- 1700 Eliz. Walker from ffriering of y^e smal pox.
 Thomas Pavet from y^e George Inn.
 Katherine wife of Tho. Nelson, from y^e X Keys.
 William ffarington of ffryering of y^e small-pox.
- 1701 Robert Johnson from y^e Lower houses by M^r Taylor.
 Robert Jones, of Sputtle, bordering on Carnarvon or Denbighshire.
 Drover from Charles Standon's.
 M^r George Whaley, where *vide* 1668.
 Sarah infant da^r of Thomas Taylor, Curate, and Ann.
 Malachi ffogurty Gent^m in y^e almsfolks chapel.
 July 9. Edward son of John Ewer Rec^{tr} and Barbara; his
 brother James died in Jamaica Nov. 1702.
 Frances wife of Richard Carter of Lower-Hide.
 William Bangs of Potter-row.
 Benjamin Clarke of Lower houses.
 Elizabeth (Hilliard) wife of William Hockley of Laindon.
 Robert Oakes joyner.
 Samuel Sanders of Handley-Green.
 Old Edward Sache.
- 1703 March 27 Edward Sandford Gentleman by and below Trueloves
 Pew Easter Eve.
 April 13 Robert Evans at y^e feet of Jeremiah Braynwood.
 Edward Pool, ostler at y^e Crown and at Chelmsford.
 Samuel Younger at y^e charge of y^e overseers of ffriering.
 July 30. Elizabeth wife of James Palmer who died at y^e Bell Inn
 in her passage from St Botolph's Colchester for London.
 Sarah Snow of Handley-Green.
 Robert Smith Mariner Sept. y^e 10th in his journey from Harwich
 towards London, as was discovered by Papers in pocket.
 John Tompson, servant at Ingatstone Hall.
 Robert son of Robert Hinde, Gardener, from Charles Standon's.
 John Johnes Cabinet Maker from his father's John Johnes.
 Elizabeth and Susaña twin daughters of James Hannoe a walking
 Chairmender.
- 1703/4 Jan. 14. William Marshal, a^ts Martin of Barking parish found
 dead in the fields of Ingatestone.
 Jan. 19. Elizabeth Stoaks of Handley Barns ffast day of y^e
 Storms.
- 1704 July 15. Mary wife of James D'oyley.
 Elizabeth wife of William Brewer Pensioner of ffryering.
 Dec. Jonas Bangs sen^r of Beggar-Hill.
- 1705 Nicholas Wilding of the Bell Inn.
 John Partridg from his Mother's Bithiah Partridg.
 Jan. 29th. Thomas Taylor Cleric.
 William Toppin a Taylor from Wid^d Whaley's.
- 1706 John son of M^r Humfrey Skelton St Martin's in y^e fields Uphol-
 sterer.
 James son of George Hinckloe, and Margaret, his wife.
 John White's widow of Green Street.
 Ann da. of Richard Watson of y^e Bell Inn and Sarah.
 Daniel son of John Bruer of Writtle.
 M^r Thomas Brazier of ffryering in y^e Chancel.
 Sept. John Clark crush'd to death between a cart and a waggon.
 Old Thomas Badcock.
 Michael Eave, from y^e Lion yard.

- 1706 Thomas son of Thos. Shuttleworth and Elizab.
Jan. 10th. Was buried y^e Eody of Thomas L^d Petre Baron of
Writtle in y^e vault, being y^e 9th Person and the 6th L^d buried
there. Vide Jan^{ry} y^e 10th 1683/4.
Feb. 8th. Williā Lodg of Mill Green.
John Harris of Daws.
the body of an almost abortive male infant of Jasper Shinidnes
and Mary.
- 1707 Thomas Summers of Green Street.
April 16th. John Watts being Wednesday in Easter week.
July 2^d. Old John Jones.
Sarah y^e beloved daughter of M^r Thomas Sandford and Catherine
his wife.
Old John Hillyard from Green Street.
Eleanor widow of Robert Oake joyner.
Sept 10 Sarah wife of Thomas Richards in great Rain my
birthday 1632.
- 1708 Old Mary Marden Widow.
April 19th. Mary wife of Adam Eve.
June 3rd. Thomas Clarke Parish Clarke died June 1st.
July 23. the 2nd John son of John Glascock jun^r and Elizabeth.
Sept. 1st. James son of John Glascock jun^r and Elizabeth.

Mr. Thomas Ralph begins March 30th, 1713 :

‘M^r Ewer had y^e Register in his hand all this vacancy & neglected to
Register y^e names.’

- 1712 April. Elizabeth d. of James Glascock and Eliz.
November. John, y^e son of James Glascock and Eliz.
- 1713 Robert Lord Petre was buried March 30th.
Mary daughter of Thomas Lord Petre and Mary his Lady,
April 12th.
Eleanor Sandford y^e wife of Edward Sandford Esquire.
George Linaker of y^e Parish of St Bride’s in London.
- 1714 Thomas Pickerel.
Barnabas Whaley.
Elizabeth Plale.
Hannah d. of Stephen Perry.
Adam Eve.
Barbara Pickering.
- 1715 Jane Abraham an alms-woman.
- 1716 Susanna Gascoigne.
Thomas Jones.
John Ewer (Rector of this Parish 54 years) was buried Dec. y^e 23rd.
- 1717 Mary da. of John Birmingham.
Joanna wife of Stephen Perry.
Elizabeth da. of Stephen Perry.
Jone Oram.
William a base son of Wm. Flint.
- 1718 Mary Newel, widow.
William Osborn.
William Johnson (late of y^e Parish of High Easter).
- 1719 Thomas Powel (an Alms-man).
Elizabeth da. of John Ames.
Mary Aylett (an Alms-woman).

- 1719 Robt. son of Alexander Whistock.
 Mrs Ann Hatton widow.
- 1720 Mr Thomas Sandford.
- 1721 John Hokely (an Alms-man).
 Jone Emerson.
 Mary y^e daughter of Timothy Brand Esq.
 Edward, son of Edward Lawrence.
 Ursula Outfield.
 Dorothy da. of Rob^t Wood.
 Edward Merrieday.
 William Plat.
 Mary Offin.
- 1722 Margaret Rigby.
- 1723 Richard Wilsmore.
 Sarah Bundock.
 Mary Clark (an Alms-woman).
 Ann Stoaks.
 Mary Middleton.
 Martha Mayot.
 James, son of John Saltmarsh.
 John Brown.
 Jane Scory.
 Timothy son of Timothy Brand Esq.
- 1724 Jeremiah son of Stephen Perry.
 Sarah wife of James Snow.
 Mary Bedford (a traveller).
 Stephen Whaley.
 Mary Foulks.
 Benjamin Boteman.
 Elizabeth da. of William Woodcock.
 Bridget wife of W^m Joslyn.
- 1725 Thomas son of Daniel Copsy.
 Gilbert Smith.
 John son of Timothy Brand Esq.
- 1726 Hesther Marchold.
 Anne da. of Timothy Brand Esq.
 John Tovey of South Beanfleet.
 Edward Boozy.
 Thomas Pond.
 Ann Bangs (an Alms-woman).
- 1727 Sarah Enridge.
 Ann Skelton of St. Paul's Covent Garden London.
 Jeremiah Kershaw (a Dragoon in Lieuten^t Gen: Gore's Regiment).
 Mary da. of Tobias Bush (a Traveller and an Irishman).
 Elizabeth Branwood.
 John Ruose

- 1728 Thomas, son of Matthias Brown.
Margaret Bundock.
- 1729 Mr John Metcalfe.
Thomas Perry.
Timothy Sorrel.
Rebecca Marriage.
Ellenour Reeve Widow.
- 1730 Elizabeth Gott.
John Reading (drown'd by accidentally falling into a Ditch).
Anne Bradshaw.
Mr Robert Manning.
Thomas Rust.
- 1731 William Dines.
Sarah Ingall.
Josiah Wood.
Jervase Austin of y^e Parish of Fryerning.
James Bull.
Nicholas Smith.
William Josselyn.
Mr^s Catherine Sandford, widow.
Mary Saltmarsh.
Richard Bamber.
John Springham.
- 1732 Hannah Hurrell widow.
Isaac Percival.
- 1733 William Rolph.
John Mackay.
James Tuskin.
Mr^s Ann Wicker.
- 1734 Mr Samuel Robotham.
Mary da. of John and Sarah Judge.
Abigall wife of Edward Lincoln.
Thomas Reynolds.
Elizabeth wife of Thomas Hove.
John Revel.
Mary wife of John Coppage.
Timothy Brand Esq.
- 1735 Elizabeth Bull.
William Eve.
Mr^s Frances Toogood y^e wife of Roger Toogood of y^e Parish
Mountnessing.
- 1736 Mr Francis Petre.
Ann Popplewell (an Alms-woman).
Catherine Oliver of Duddinghurst.
- 1737 Edward Stokes.
Elizabeth Sly.
Dame Mary Petre. June 19.
Thomas Palmer.
Stephen Threader.
Mr^s Ann Sandford. March 19.
- 1738 Mr^s Edward Eldred Sandford. July 2^d.
Mary Deadman (an infant). Nov. 8.
Susanna Deadman. Nov. 12.
-- y Pound.
eth wife of Thomas Shuttleworth.

- 1738 Ann da. of Joseph Child of Pater-noster Row London.
 1739 Catherine Witham.
 Aquila Reynolds.
 Samuel Mictchell (an Almsman).
 Susanna Jackson wife of Jackson a Dragoon in General Honey-
 wood's Regiment.
 Susanna da. of John Clarke.
 1740 John Ferguson a Dragoon in Lord Cadogan's Regiment.
 Matthew Gipp.
 Mrs Elizabeth Wade.
 Mrs Jane Cutler widow.
 1741 John Bacchus.
 Mrs Ann Hinds widow.
 Ann da. of Henry Browning.
 1742 Margaret Whaley (unfortunately drowned in a ditch).
 July 8th. The Right Hon^{ble} Robert James Petre Baron of
 Writtle.
 Sept. 16th. Joseph Simpson. He was killed at Thorndon by
 a wagon tipping over him.
 Esther Osborn.
 Sarah wife of Thomas Hilliard.
 Mrs Anna Maria Petre (an infant daughter of Lord Petre lately
 deceased).
 1743 Cornelius Harris, a child, unfortunately drown'd in a Pond.
 Robert Roote.
 Sarah Bird a widow.
 John Coe.
 Elizabeth Strange (call'd so because she was a Foundling).
 Thomas Turnedge.
 1744 Mary wife of William Marden.
 Mrs Sarah Brand widow.
 Ann da. of Widow Bacchus.
 1745 John Lord a Souldier in Capt Booth's Company in y^e Regim^t of
 Col. Price.
 Mrs Jane Giles widow.
 1746 William son of W^m Stant a Trouper in S^r Robert Rich's Regiment
 of Dragoons.
 John Sheppard a Farrier in S^r Rob^t Rich's Regiment of Dragoons.
 1747 Aug. Francis Saywel who was drown'd in new Pond.
 Robert son of Robert Sorrel.
 1748 Henry Allen a Dragoon in General Honeywood's Regiment.
 John Huptback.
 Nov. 27th. Stephen Perry. He was Parish Clark 33 years.
 Thomas Tinsley of Chelmsford.
 John Shed.
 1749 M^r George Tyset (an Apothecary).
 Margaret wife of Lewis Cockram a stone-cutter in London.
 Abraham Milbank.
 Cleopatra Collard.
 M^r Thomas Gipp.
 1750 Dec. A Travelling man who died suddenly on y^e road.
 M^r James White.
 William, son of William Sache.
 Mrs Catherine Ralph y^e wife of Thomas Ralph Rector of this
 Parish was buried Jan. y^e 10th.

- 1750 John Stokes.
 1751 Cornelius Harris.
 Elizabeth da. of William Davy.
 Elizabeth Oddyn.
 John Bayly.
 Anne da. of Thomas Jones.
 Bridget Bright of y^e Parish of S^t Giles in London.
 Elizabeth Robinson.
 Thomas Grange.
 1752 Joseph Whaly who had y^e X Chambers (?). *See p. 473.*
 Mistress Ann Wade.
 A traveller, his name unknown.
 M^r John Glascock.
 John Bangs.
 1753 Mary Sache.

The entries made by Thomas Ralph, Rector, end at the bottom of a page, August, 1753. The next page is begun by Richard Meadowcroft, Curate,¹ and continues to November, 1755.

- 1753 Widow Platt from Mill Green Common.
 1754 Samuel Fodderly.
 1755 March 7th. The Rev. M^r Ralph Rector of Ingatestone was buried March y^e 7th.
 John Gibbans a servant of Captain Hudson's.
 W^m Morris a Soldier in Mordaunt's Dragoons.
 Thomas son of Thomas and Mary Brasier.
 John Atkins.
 John Eve.

In November, 1755, Pierce Lloyd begins.

- Elizabeth Collier.
 Robert Gouldston.
 Mary Reynolds.
 1758 A poor woman found near expiring in a Barn by Ingatestone Hall, of a Natural Death as the Inquest gave verdict, whose name we could not discover.
 Edward Sandford.
 Thomas Knight.
 1760 April 4th. The Right hon^{ble} Lady Ann Petre widow of Robert James Petre.
 June 6th John Ducker Schoolmaster.
 William Tichborne Esq^r.
 Ann Mitchel.
 John Bacchus.
 1762 Charity Batchelor.
 Richard Tunstal.
 John Cable.
 Susannah Collar.
 Sarah Vinton.
 1763 Jemima Carter.
 1764 John Thorogood of Ongar.

¹ Mr. Meadowcroft's name also appears in the Fryerning registers. He was Rector of Margaretting.

- 1764 John Twitchet.
Mary Farrington.
- 1765 Thomas Sandford.
man
- 1766 A person unknown was drowned by accident in the Great Road
near the Wash as appear'd by the Cor^r Warrant July 26th.
- 1767 Theresa Bangs.
Philip son of the Right Hon^{ble} Robert Edward Lord Petre, an
infant.
M^{rs} Margaret Colegrave widow.
Samuel Jacob Shipman.
- 1768 William Henry Thornton was buried from Cranham Park.
- 1769 Patrick Sword an infant who died in the Barn at the Hall.
- 1770 James Pinnock.
Ann Skingley Feb. 24th.
Frances Skingley Mar 4th.
Ellen Skingley April 22^d.
Jeremiah Perry.
Edward Perry from London.

The entries in 1769 are signed, as usual, by Pierce Lloyd, Rector.

- 1770 Pierce Lloyd late Rector of this Parish aged fifty five was buried
Dec 4th.

[The slab to his memory in the chancel gives the date of his death as
Nov 22, and his age 60.]

Mr. Scott omitted to insert some entries which were afterwards
filled in.

- 1774 Peter Shuttleworth.
Robin Coe.
Francis Allen (Farmer kill'd by a Blow from the Sails of M^r Dear-
man's Mill August 6 1774).
- 1777 Cornelia Bertruda Piers (wife of John Howard of Huskards Esq^r)
late widow of Sir John Piers of the Kingdom of Ireland Bar^t
was buried (by M^r Lewis) January 22 1777.

Fryerning (inserted) :

- 1775 Mary da of John and Anne Coverdale.
Richard Lay Collar maker.
Mary Monk wife of Parnel Monk.
- 1776 Nathaniel son of John and Elizabeth Simmonds.
Joshua Brown Inn keeper.
Dorothy Merryfield.

- 1776 Thomas Bonham.
John Brasier.
- 1777 Mary Foster of Beggar Hill widow.
- 1781 Dec 23 Chris^r Hicks private soldier Pembrokeshire Militia.
Dec 28 David Jenkins Pembrokeshire Militia.
- 1782 W^m Drake (a travelling Pedlar).
- 1783 March 23 Thomas Packman was buried æt 80. He was Parish
Clerk 18 years & did officiate till within a few days before his
death.
N.B. The Rev^d M^r Lewis Rector of this Parish appointed next
day his Successor the present Parish Clerk Joseph Trigg.

Between entries of Sept. 27 and Oct. 5, 1783, is inserted 'Here the Tax on Burials commences.'

- 1783 Oct 5 A blind woman (unknown) was buried.
- 1787 July Ralph Hill late Capt of the 119 Reg^t of Foot was buried.
- 1791 S^r John Playters, Bar^t of Sotterby in the County of Suffolk.
- 1794 Henry Grove, a Private Soldier in Captⁿ Stephen's Company of the North Lincoln Militia.
- 1795 Mary Lewis was buried May 27th.
- 1798 Hon^{ble} Ann Catherine Denzil Onslow (daughter of R^t Hon^{ble} L^d Petre) was buried in his vault on the third day of October.
John Lewis was buried October 5th.
- 1801 The R^t Hon^{ble} Robert Edward Lord Petre July 9th.
- 1804 Joseph Trigg was buried June 10th.
- 1805 Joseph Huskinsky (late a German Soldier died on his way to Harwich) was buried May 4th.
- 1809 The R^t Hon^{ble} Rob^t Edward Lord Petre.
- 1810 July 1st Sarah Martin (cor^s warrant).
Dec 3^d William Timsell (cor^s warrant).
- 1811 Jan 5th George Burns an Inf^t (cor^s warrant).
Nov Robert Fletcher (cor^s warrant).

Register Book No. 1 has now (1913) been transcribed page for page by the Rev. Canon O. W. Tancock and Miss Tancock. When Chelmsford becomes a bishopric it is proposed to form a Cathedral Library, and the transcript would there find a fitting home; in the meantime it is in the custody of the Rector of Ingatestone.

In the *Visitations of Essex*, Harleian Society, vols. xiii and xiv, will be found the following pedigrees: Disney; Garfoot, of the Hyde; Walmsley.

Mr. J. Challoner Smith has given me several items of interest about the old families:

William Garfoote of the Hyde, p. 292, was owner of the celebrated 'Tabard' inn at Southwark, but was not himself an innholder. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rector Antony Brasier, p. 165.

Rector Brasier's son Anthony, in his will, 1637, is described as an innholder, and owned The George and Hammons Ox. His son Anthony, also an innholder, 1675, called the house George and Hamond; he appears in the register as of the George. From Anthony Brasier were descended Brasiers of Colchester, and John Brasier, Rector of Great Holland, 1725, whose daughter Mary married the Rev. Sam. Bowry, and his daughter Elizabeth the Rev. Palmer Smythies, from whom are descended many Smythies and some of the Twinings of the Strand.

Mr. James Glascock (p. 206), who died Sept. 1734, aetat 56, was a doctor and a son of the Rev. John Glascock, clerk, of Ingatestone,

and Vicar of Blackmore. James appears on the administration bond in Rector John Ewer's estate (p. 177) as apothecary, and husband of Elizabeth Ewer, daughter (granddaughter?) of the old rector. Isaac Percival, who had married Joan Ewer, was a mercer, and the other sureties to the bond were Thomas Gyles, innholder, and David Norden, baker, all of Ingatestone.

James Glascock's sister Elizabeth married Thomas Brasier, a descendant of Rector Brasier, and their son John Brasier left directions in his will that he should be buried near his uncle James in Fryerning churchyard. He was to have a 'brickt arch' over him and 'a post at my feet and another at my head'; these still remain, the inscription being, 'In memory of John Braiser [*sic*] of Fryerning who departed this life May the 4th 1757 aged 54 years.' His brother Anthony Brasier (d. 1741) left directions that he should be buried in the porch of Fryerning Church.

Another son of the Vicar of Blackmore was John Glascock, jun^r; he was a grocer, and also churchwarden of Ingatestone 1703-1706. In his will, proved 1753, he left to his daughter Mary Butler, widow, and to her heirs, his tenement between the church on the east and north parts and churchyard on south part. This must be the house at the corner of Stock Lane opposite the Anchor, which I have elsewhere suggested may have been at one time the Lion Inn. During the first half of the nineteenth century it was owned and occupied by Mr. Charles Butler the surgeon, who must have been a descendant of John and Elizabeth Glascock, the marriage of whose daughter Mary appears in the Ingatestone register 1729. 'Thomas Butler of y^e Parish of Whitechapel and Mary Glascock of y^e Parish of Ingatestone were married by license Feb y^e 2^d.' Elizabeth Glascock, widow, 1753-60, left to Mary Butler her 'messuage called Spell Feathers abutting on lane called Cockbridge lane otherwise Hide lane'. Mary Butler's tenement near the church at Ingatestone was the home in which 'Lady Audley' was governess before her marriage.

James Glascock had a daughter Dorothy, who married the Rev. Harry Hillier (d. 1765); their monument remains at Ewelme.

THE PARISH CHESTS

Buttsbury. *St. Mary.* The church contains two chests. One is of the sixteenth century, and is of oak slabs nailed together. Two lock-plates remain, the third has gone, and the chest is secured by hasp and staple. Length 3 ft. 8 in., width 1 ft. 1 in., depth 1 ft. 2 in. The other chest is made of broad oaken planks dovetailed together, and strengthened by iron bands; it is fastened by two hasps and staples. Length 4 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in., width 1 ft. 2 in., depth 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Church Chests of Essex*, by H. L. Lewer and J. C. Wall.

The registers are now kept in an iron safe in Ingatestone Church (1913).

Fryerning. *St. Mary.* The old chest still remains in the vestry. Length 2 ft. 4½ in., width 1 ft. 2 in., depth inside 1 ft., outside 1 ft. 4 in. It is of ⅝ in. oak boards boldly dovetailed together, and is raised from the ground by a plinth, apparently added when the bottom was repaired. The lid is strengthened with three thin iron plates inside; it has two internal iron hinges, and the three brass key-plates still remain, though the locks are gone. It has drop handles at each end, and has at some time been stained and varnished. Its contents to-day are bell ropes and hymn-books. It is rather hard on this respectable and certainly elderly chest, not to be mentioned by Messrs. Lewer and Wall. *See* p. 151.

The registers are now kept in an iron safe in the church (1913).

Ingatestone. *St. Edmund and St. Mary the Virgin.* The church possesses no ordinary chest; the large box in the belfry appears to be modern, and is only fastened with one hasp and staple. The vestry contains one large pitch pine (?) cupboard; height 6 ft., width 3 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 1 in., with three locks. Jammed between the iron screen and a great tomb, it has for many years been inaccessible, but by permission of the Rector I have (May, 1913) had it moved out. It contains many marriage licences, and a great number of Parish Rate and Account Books of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, together with much correspondence about the paupers, articles of apprenticeship, inventories of the contents of the Workhouse (beds, blankets, hutches, kneading troughs, &c.), and the bills and accounts of the Church Restoration in 1867. The books are almost entirely those of the Overseers of the Poor, and there are very few entries of Churchwardens' accounts. A great many bills remain in wild confusion, which might, if searched, show the cost of various alterations in the church, and the date of the departure of the original parish chest, and the advent of this hutch, or cupboard. Here are two or three items I gleaned: the coffin for a pauper 9s. 6d., the woollen in which to bury her, 1s. 6d.; 1811, paid at Lloyds towards the relief of the British prisoners in France, £10; 1830, for draping the church with black on the death of his majesty, £7 3s. 6d.; tolling the bell, 2s. 6d.; 1831, for a new surplice, ordered by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, £5 5s. This 'chest' also is unnoticed by Messrs. Lewer and Wall.

The registers are kept in an iron safe in the church (1913).

The vestry also contains a very old oak table, which may possibly have been the Communion Table. It measures 4 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 11 in., and is 2 ft. 9 in. high. The legs and the frieze are carved with rather ornate patterns.

APPENDIX F

CHARITIES

CHARITY COMMISSION

In the matter of the following Charities in the Ancient Parish of FRYERNING in the County of Essex :—

Charity.	How founded.
Bonham, Rosamund	Will, dated in 1805
Bright, William	Will, dated 30th April 1777.
Coesvelt, William Gordon . .	Will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 2nd April 1844
D'Oyley, Reverend D ^r Robert .	Will, dated 3rd March 1731
Page's Second Poor Charity . .	Declaration of Trust, dated 6th August 1866
Price, The Reverend George . .	Deed Poll, dated 17th July 1855
Sorrell, Robert, M.D.	Will, dated in 1805

SCHEME

Adminis-
tration of
Charities.

1. From and after the day on which this scheme is approved and established by an Order of the Charity Commissioners, the above-mentioned Charities and the endowments thereof specified in the Schedule hereto, and all other the endowments (if any) of the said Charities, shall be administered and managed by the body of Trustees herein-after constituted, subject to and in conformity with the provisions of this Scheme, under the title of the United Charities.

Invest-
ment of
cash.

2. All sums of cash now or at any time belonging to the Charities and not needed for immediate working purposes shall (unless otherwise ordered) as soon as possible be invested, under the authority of a further Order of the Charity Commissioners, in the name of 'The Official Trustees of Charitable Funds'.

TRUSTEES

Trustees.

3. The body of Trustees shall, when complete, consist of five competent persons, being—Three Ex-officio Trustees, and Two Representative Trustees.

Ex-officio
Trustees.

4. The Ex-officio Trustees shall be the RECTOR and CHURCH-WARDENS for the time being of the Ecclesiastical Parish of Fryerning.

Represent-
ative
Trustees.

5. The Representative Trustees shall be appointed by the Parish Council of Ingatestone and Fryerning. Each appointment shall be made for a term of four years at a meeting convened and held according to the ordinary practice of the Council. The Chairman of the meeting shall forthwith cause the name of each person ap-

pointed to be notified to the Trustees or their Clerk. The person appointed may be, but need not be, a member of the Council.

6. The First Representative Trustees shall be appointed as soon as possible after the date hereof, and their names shall be notified to the Rector on behalf of the Trustees. At the end of two years from the date of the appointment of the first Representative Trustees, if both remain Trustees, one of them, to be determined by lot if necessary, shall go out of office, but shall be eligible for re-appointment.

7. No person shall be entitled to act as a Trustee, whether on a first or any subsequent entry into office, until after signing in the minute book of the Trustees a declaration of acceptance and of willingness to act in the trusts of this Scheme.

8. Any Representative Trustee who is absent from three successive meetings of the Trustees, and any Trustee who is adjudicated bankrupt, or who is incapacitated from acting, or who communicates in writing to the Trustees a wish to resign, shall thereupon cease to be a Trustee.

9. Upon the occurrence of a vacancy the Trustees shall, at their next meeting, cause a note thereof to be entered in their minute book, and in the case of a vacancy in the office of Representative Trustee shall cause notice thereof to be given as soon as possible to the Parish Council. Any competent Trustee may be reappointed.

MEETINGS AND PROCEEDINGS OF TRUSTEES

10. The Trustees shall hold ordinary meetings at least once in each year. A special meeting may at any time be summoned by any two Trustees upon seven days' notice being given to all the other Trustees of the matters to be discussed.

11. There shall be a quorum when two Trustees are present at any meeting.

12. At every meeting the Trustees present shall appoint a Chairman. Every matter shall be determined by the majority of the Trustees present and voting on the question. The Chairman shall have a casting vote, whether he has or has not previously voted on the same question, but no Trustee shall in any other circumstances give more than one vote.

13. A minute book and books of account shall be provided and kept by the Trustees. All proper accounts in relation to the Charities shall in each year be made out and certified in such manner as the Charity Commissioners require, and copies thereof shall be transmitted to the said Commissioners, and published in conformity with the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts.

14. Within the limits prescribed by this Scheme the Trustees shall have full power from time to time to make regulations for the management of the Charities, and for the conduct of their business, including the summoning of meetings, the deposit of money at a

proper bank, the custody of documents, and the appointment as Clerk during their pleasure of one of themselves (without salary) or of some other fit person.

APPLICATION OF INCOME

Expenses
of man-
agement.

15. All the proper costs, charges and expenses of and incidental to the administration and management of the Charities shall be first defrayed by the Trustees out of the income thereof.

Applica-
tion of
income.

16. Subject to the payments aforesaid, the yearly income of the Charities shall be applied by the Trustees in making payments under one or more of the following heads, subject as herein-after provided, for the benefit either of the poor of the Ancient Parish of Fryerning generally, or of such deserving and necessitous persons resident therein as the Trustees select for this purpose, and in such way as they consider most advantageous to the recipients, and most conducive to the formation of provident habits:—

General
benefit of
Poor.

I. The grant of annuities not exceeding £5 each to persons over 65 years of age, provided that in the case of a married couple the total amount granted by way of annuity shall not exceed £5 for the two.

II. Contributions towards—

(a) The provision of Nurses for the Sick and Infirm.

(b) The travelling expenses of Patients to and from a Hospital or Convalescent Home.

(c) The cost of providing proper care and supervision (including any necessary cost of locomotion) for poor children requiring temporary change of air or special protection or treatment.

III. The Supply, to an amount not exceed £10 in any one year, of Clothes, Linen, Bedding, Fuel, Tools, Medical or other aid in Sickness, Food or other articles in kind, or of temporary relief in money, by way of loan or otherwise, in case of unexpected loss, or sudden destitution.

Provided that the benefits of the Charity of the Reverend George Price shall be limited to persons otherwise qualified as aforesaid, who are members of the Church of England.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Appro-
priation of
benefits.

17. The appropriation of the benefits of the Charities shall be made by the Trustees from time to time at meetings of their body, and not separately by any individual Trustee or Trustees.

Trustees
not to be
personally
interested
in the
Charities.

18. No Trustee shall receive any remuneration, or be interested in the supply of work or goods, at the cost of the Charities.

19. The funds or income of the Charities shall not in any case be applied in aid of any rates for the relief of the poor or other purposes in the Parish, or so that any individual other than an Annuitant under clause 16 of this Scheme or institution may become entitled to a periodical or recurrent benefit therefrom.

Charities
not to
relieve
rates.

20. Any question as to the construction of this Scheme, or as to the regularity or the validity of any acts done or about to be done under this Scheme, shall be determined conclusively by the Charity Commissioners, upon such application made to them for the purpose as they think sufficient.

Questions
under
Scheme.

SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY

Description.	Amount.	Person liable, or Persons in whose Name invested.	Gross yearly Income.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Charity of Rosamund Bonham, Consols.	100 0 0	'The Official Trustees of Charitable Funds'	2 10 0
Charity of William Bright, Yearly sum.	—	Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy.	4 10 0
Charity of William Gordon Coesvelt, Consols.	226 2 7	Do. do.	5 13 0
Charity of D ^r Robert D'oyley, Yearly sum.	—	Do. do.	1 10 0
Page's Second Poor Charity, Consols.	73 17 6	'The Official Trustees of Charitable Funds.'	1 16 8
Charity of the Reverend George Price, Consols.	100 0 0	Do. do.	2 10 0
Charity of Robert Sorrell, Consols.	100 0 0	Do. do.	2 10 0

Sealed by Order of the Board this 31st day of March 1905.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WILLS OF BENEFACTORS

Rosamund Bonham.

Next I give and bequeath the interest of one hundred pounds three per cent. reduced annuities for ever In trust unto the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being towards upholding and supporting the Sunday School as now established in the said parish of Ingatestone but in case the said Sunday School should at any future period be discontinued I direct the interest of the said one hundred pounds shall be given in bread to the most distressed families belonging to the parish of Ingatestone for ever at Michaelmas and Lady. Next I give and bequeath the interest of one hundred pounds three per cent. reduced annuities to be laid out in bread and given away

to the most distressed families belonging to the parish of Fryerning at Michaelmas and Lady for ever.

P.C.C. Proved 13 November 1805.

William Bright.

Next I will and direct that the sum of one hundred pounds be laid out and invested in the three per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities in the Names of the Trustees or Distributors for the time being of the late Reverend Mr. D'oyly's Charity in Fryerning aforesaid the interest dividends and proceeds whereof I would have given and applied for ever hereafter at the same time and in like manner and for the same uses as the said Mr. D'oyly's Charity is or shall be given or applied.

P.C.C. Proved 29 October 1777.

William Gordon Coesvelt.

I leave in trust to the Rector and Churchwardens of the parish of Frierning for the time being the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling to be invested for the benefit of the deserving poor under the inspection of my daughter so long as she resides at St Leonards my wish is that the annual interest of this capital should be employed in plain articles to give to the poor useful comforts during the winter season.

P.C.C. Proved April 1844.

Robert D'oyly.

3^{rdly} That the said Corporation do well and truly pay yearly and every yeare for ever att Christmas to the respective Rectors of Fryerning and Margaret Roding in Essex for the time being or to their order one pound and tenn shillings each which my Will is that the said Rectors do cause to be duly distributed in bread to the deserving poore in their respective parishes proportioning to the poverty of families and number of small children twenty shillings att Christmas and tenn shillings att Easter.

P.C.C. Proved April 1733.

(Executors, Treasurers of the Corporation for the Relief of Poore Widows and Children of Clergymen.)

Page's Second Poor Charity.

Who was Page? and where is the First Charity? Alas, they have departed together, and left no trace that I or the Rector can discover. We remain very grateful that the Second is still with us.

THE PETRE ALMSHOUSES

Morant (1778), vol. ii, p. 48.

'The endowment is *forty-eight pounds* a year, paid out of Crondon-park; an estate of *eighteen pounds* per annum, called Catlyns in Butsbury; *six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence* yearly, out of

a farm called Ramsey Tirrels; and *eighteen pounds* a year, out of a copyhold estate in Frierning, belonging to Wadham College, in lieu of six cows, two for the priest, and four for the poor people, that were to be fed on the maner of Ingatstone.¹ The minister is priest to this Hospital, and hath 4*l.* per ann.—6*l.* in lieu of the two cows—15*s.* for a livery or gown, and for wood yearly 1*l.* 16*s.* Each of the poor hath 6*s.* 8*d.* a month, 24*s.* every year for wood, and 12*s.* for a gown. Ten other common poor, that have no dwelling, have 2*s.* 8*d.* a month out of this charity. On Christmas-eve, there is distributed 6*s.* 8*d.* to twenty poor folk of Ingatstone.—And on Easter-eve 13*s.* 4*d.* to forty poor folk. At the auditing of the accounts by the ministers of Ingatstone, Mountnessing and Butsbury, to be spent 5*s.* To be deposited in the chest, 2*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* yearly, towards the repairs of the hospital, and of the Lord Petre's chancel, built for the poor. The whole endowment is £90 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.'

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Lord Petre had a dispute with Wadham College over quit-rents stated to be due to Wadham. In 1617 Lord Petre and the Charity held 10 acres and Long Croft 17 acres, of the manor of Fryerning, which land his grandfather, Sir W. Petre, 5 Eliz., devised to 'Priest and Poore of Hospital of Ging Petre' for eighty years. Lord Petre admitted that the dues had not been paid for many years, and gave as a reason that quit-rent of 46 acres called Barking, alias St. John's Land, held by the College, had not been paid to him by them, and that one balanced the other.

LETTERS PATENT AS TO GINGE PETRE

Public Record Office, London, Patent Roll 3 & 4 Philip and Mary,
Part 12, Membrane 19.

Rex et Regina omnibus ad quos et cetera Salutem Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris necnon certis consideracionibus nos specialiter moventibus concessimus et licenciam dedimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predictae Regine concedimus et licenciam damus predilecto Consilario nostro Willelmo Petre militi principali Secretario nostro quod ipse heredes executores sive assignati sui quandam fundacionem apud Gyng at Stone alias dicto Gyng ad Petram alias dicto Gyng Petre alias dicto Gyng Abbisse in Comitatu nostro Essexie de uno Presbitero ac septem pauperibus per ipsum Willelmum Petre heredes vel assignatos suos perpetuis futuris temporibus nominandis eligendis et appunctuandis prout eis melius videbitur juxta ordinaciones statuta et constituciones fiendas ordinandas statuendas

Pro
Willelmo
Petre
militē.

¹ Holman notes here: 'Enquire of Charles Hornby about it'; but does not record whether he got any result.

appunctuandas et in scriptis declarandas per predictum Willelmum Petre militem heredes executores sive assignatos suos aut per aliquam aliam personam sive aliquas alias personas per ipsum Willelmum Petre in vita sua aut per ultimam voluntatem suam nominandas sive appunctuandas facere fundare erigere et stabilire possit et valeat perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam Et quod dicti Presbiter et pauperes cum predicta fundacio sic fundata erecta facta et stabilita fuerit et successores sui sint et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politiquum in re et in nomine habeantque [et] habebunt successionem perpetuam ac sint et erunt persone habiles apte et capaces in lege ac ipsos et successores suos cum fundacia (*sic*) illa sic facta et erecta fuerit unum corpus corporatum et politiquum pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predictae Regine per presentes facimus erigimus et creamus et pro uno corpore corporato et politiquo jure nomine et in re cum fundacio illa sic facta et erecta fuerit per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predictae Regine acceptamus et declaramus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam Et quod predicti presbiter et pauperes fundacionis predictae et successores sui presbiter et pauperes fundacionis illius sub nomine et per nomen Presbiteri et pauperum de Gyng Petre in Comitatu Essexie placitare et implacitare respondere et responderi prosequi et defendere possint et valeant in omnibus et omnimodo ac quibuscumque accionibus sectis querelis causis et demandis realibus personalibus et mixtis cujuscumque generis fuerint vel nature in quibuscumque locis Curiis et temporibus ac coram quibuscumque Justiciis et iudicibus spiritualibus et temporalibus ac aliis personis quibuscumque Habeant et habebunt predicti presbiter et pauperes et successores sui sigillum commune imperpetuum juxta ordinationem et constitutionem ipsius Willelmi Petre heredum executorum sive assignatorum suorum aut per aliquam aliam personam sive aliquas alias personas per ipsum Willelmum Petre in vita sua aut per ultimam voluntatem suam nominandas sive appunctuandas formandas limitandas et appunctuandas. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra concessimus et licenciam dedimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predictae Regine concedimus et licenciam damus prefato Willelmo Petre militi et heredibus suis quod ipse heredes executores sive assignati sui aut aliqua alia persona sive alique alie persone per ipsum Willelmum Petre in vita sua aut per ultimam voluntatem suam nominande sive appunctuande maneria terras tenementa decimas penciones porciones et alia hereditamenta quecumque tam spiritualia quam temporalia ad clarum annum valorem quinquaginta librarum ultra omnia onera et reprisas licet de nobis teneantur vel tenebuntur in capite seu aliquo alio modo seu de aliquo alio dare et concedere possit et valeat possint et valeant predictis Presbitero et pauperibus fundacionis predictae pro tempore existentibus cum fundacio illa sic facta fundata erecta et stabilita fuerit per nomen Presbiteri et pauperum de Gyng Petre in Comitatu Essexie Habendum et gaudendum predicta maneria terras tenementa decimas penciones porciones et

alia hereditamenta quecumque cum pertinenciis eisdem Presbitero et pauperibus fundacionis predicte et successoribus suis imperpetuum in puram perpetuam et liberam elemosinam ad perimplendum et exequendum ordinationes statuta et constitutiones predicta ut predictum est per prefatum Willelmum Petre heredes executores sive assignatos suos aut per aliquam aliam personam sive aliquas alias personas per ipsum Willelmum Petre in vita sua aut per ultimam voluntatem suam nominandas sive appunctuandas fiendas ordinandas statuendas declarandas et corrigendas et eisdem Presbitero et pauperibus fundacionis predicte et successoribus suis cum fundacio illa sic facta et erecta fuerit quod ipsi et successores sui eadem maneria terras tenementa decimas penciones porciones hereditamenta et cetera premissa cum pertinenciis a prefato Willelmo Petre heredibus executoribus sive assignatis suis aut de aliqua alia persona sive aliquibus aliis personis per ipsum Willelmum Petre in vita sua aut per ultimam voluntatem suam nominandis sive appunctuandis ea eis dare et concedere volenter [et] recipere possint et valeant in puram perpetuam et liberam elemosinam Tenendum sibi et successoribus suis predictis imperpetuum absque aliquo nobis heredibus aut successoribus nostris prefate Regine pro premissis solvendo exigendo seu faciendo aut pro aliquo premissorum ad perimplendum et exequendum ordinationes statuta et constitutiones predictas tenore presentium pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predicte Regine Similiter licenciam dedimus et damus specialem absque impetitione demanda exactione impedimento vel perturbacione nostrorum heredum vel successorum nostre predicte Regine Justiciorum escaetorum vicecomitum coronatorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum aut successorum nostre predicte Regine quorumcumque absque aliqua alia licencia aut fine pro licencia ad manum mortuam vel aliter alienandi seu alio fine aut feodo quocumque ad opus nostrum heredum vel successorum nostrorum predicte Regine inde faciendo reddendo vel solvendo et absque aliquo brevi de ad quod dampnum sive de aliquibus aliis literis patentibus inquisitionibus vel mandatis Regiis et absque aliqua inquisitione super aliquo brevi de ad quod dampnum sive aliquibus aliis brevibus nostris seu mandatis heredum seu successorum nostrorum predicte Regine et absque aliqua alia licencia in hac parte fiendis habendis proseguendis impetrandis capiendis exequendis statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis aut aliquo alio statuto ordinatione lege restriccionem vel provisionem incontrariam inde facto edito ordinato seu proviso in aliquo non obstante Et insuper volumus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostre predicte Regine concedimus quod predicti presbiter et pauperes fundacionis predicte qui pro tempore fuerint et eorum successores cum predicta fundacio sic ut prefertur fundata erecta facta et stabilita fuerit recipere et perquirere possint et valeant sibi et successoribus suis Presbitero et pauperibus fundacionis predicte alia maneria terras tenementa decimas penciones porciones et hereditamenta ad clarum annum valorem

quinquaginta librarum per annum ultra omnia onera et reprisas ac
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 voluntatem suam nominandas sive appunctuandas aut per aliquas
 alias personas quascumque ut prefertur dandas concedendas et ap-
 punctuandas ad predictum annum valorem quinquaginta librarum
 licet de nobis tenentur in capite sive aliter sive de aliquo alio per
 quecumque alia servicia absque impetitione impedimento vel per-
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 strorum nostrorum heredum vel successorum nostrorum dicte Regine
 quorumcumque absque fine seu feodo quocumque ad opus nostrum
 heredum vel successorum nostrorum predictae Regine inde faciendo
 reddendo vel solvendo et absque aliquo brevi de ad quod dampnum
 sive aliquibus aliis literis nostris patentibus inquisitionibus vel man-
 datis Regiis et absque aliqua inquisitione super aliquo brevi de ad
 quod dampnum sive aliquibus aliis brevibus seu mandatis nostris
 heredum vel successorum nostrorum predictae Regine in ea parte
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 statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis
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 vel materia quacumque non obstante Et insuper volumus ac per
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 concedimus prefato Willelmo Petre et heredibus suis quod predictus
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 patronatu et advocacione ipsius Willelmi heredum et assignatorum
 suorum propria et non de nostra Sit tamen infra jurisdictionem et
 visitacionem ordinarii loci illius pro tempore existentis Ac quod
 fundacio illa non solum quoad presbiterum in locum suum in funda-
 cione illa sed etiam quoad pauperes in eadem fundacione per pre-
 dictum Willelmum heredes et assignatos suos de tempore in tempus
 appunctuandos collocandos et nominandos sit omnino et perpetuis
 futuris temporibus de sola et propria advocacione et patronatu pre-
 dicti Willelmi Petre heredum et assignatorum suorum Sintque tam
 predictus Presbiter et successores sui quam predicti pauperes et
 successores sui et eorum quilibet per prefatum Willelmum Petre
 heredes et assignatos suos omnino et perpetue nominati appunctuati
 donati et collocati et non presentati Et quod omnes et singuli pres-
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 appunctuandi per liberam donacionem et nominacionem predicti
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 imperpetuum perficiantur et eorum quilibet perficiatur Et quod

iidem Presbiter et pauperes fundacionis predicte et eorum quilibet et singuli et successores sui post predictam donacionem per predictum Willelmum Petre militem heredes aut assignatos suos predictos Presbiteris et pauperibus et eorum cuilibet sive eorum alicui fiendam sint et eorum quilibet sit immediate Presbiter aut pauper fundacionis illius ac in funcionem locum et officium presbiteri et pauperis in eadem fundacione ut casus fuerit realiter investitus ac in realem et corporalem possessionem ejusdem loci et officii in eadem fundacione eidem appunctuati absque aliqua presentacione ad loci illius ordinarium sive ad aliquem alium aut aliter per ipsum Willelmum Petre militem heredes vel assignatos suos fienda et absque aliqua admissione institutione investitura sive aliqua alia re per ipsum Willelmum Petre heredes vel assignatos suos seu per aliquem Presbiterum aut pauperem fundacionis predicte post donacionem predictam per ipsum Willelmum Petre vel heredes suos hujusmodi Presbitero aut pauperibus aut pauperi fundacionis illius aut eorum alicui factam a loci dicto ordinario seu aliquo alio quocumque impetranda habenda seu proseguenda Tamen volumus ac per presentes declaramus et firmiter precipimus quod si fundacio illa postquam fundata et erecta fuerit aliquo presbitero aut paupere defecerit per spacium duorum mensium et [postquam] hoc notificatum fuerit prefato Willelmo Petre heredibus et assignatis suis in donacione et nominacione idonee persone in presbiterum aut pauperem fundacionis predicte ut casus fuerit remissi fuerint aut remissus fuerit ita quod ad locum et officium in eadem fundacione sic vacans idoneam personam non nominaverint nec eorum aliquis nominaverit per spacium aliorum duorum mensium quod tunc licebit et licitum fuerit loci illius ordinario pro tempore existente infra unum mensem tunc proxime sequentem idoneam personam ad locum et officium in eadem fundacione sic vacante pro illa vice tantum presentare Et sic tociens quociens casus evenerit aut acciderit per defectum ipsius Willelmi Petre heredum aut assignatorum suorum Salvis semper prefato Willelmo Petre heredibus et assignatis suis nominacione jure patronatus et advocacione inde alias cum vacare contigerit Eo quod expressa mencio etc. In cujus rei etc. Testibus Rege et Regina apud Westmonasterium vii die Julii . . . per ipsos Regem et Reginam etc.

APPENDIX G

FRYERNING FIELD-NAMES

Blackmore End.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2. Little Staines. | |
| 3. Great Staines. | |
| 5. Blackmore Field. | |
| 8. Rainbow Field. | |
| 9. Barn Field. | |
| 12. Pear Tree Field. | } On Ongar-Blackmore Road. |
| 13. Pudding Bag Field. | |

- 15. Clay Pit Field.
- 16. Pightle.
- 21. Rayleigh Field.
- 23. Cart Lodge Mead. Adjacent to Howlett's Hall.
- 31. Fryerning Wood.
- 40. Van Dieman's Land. } Now allotments.
- 43. Oak Wood. }
- 44. Martin's Field. }
- 47. 48. Oak Ridden. }
- 49. Little Wood Field. } Near Maple Tree Lane.
- 50. Great Wood Field. }
- 51. Lower Wood Field. }
- 52. Pond Field. }
- 53. Needle Field. }
- 54. Home Mead. Adjacent to Brick House Farm, Beggar Hill.
- 56. Boot Mead.
- 57. Cross Path Field.
- 62. Little Long Field.
- 64. Hoggery Down. }
- 65. Clay Pit Mead. }
- 71. Dowsett's. }
- 73. Porter's Field. }
- 74. Five Corners. }
- 75. 76. Moors. } Near Beggar Hill.
- 77. Clay Pit Mead. }
- 78. Short Land Field. }
- 80. Hop Garden. }
- 81. High Field. }
- 85. Well Mead. }
- 90. Church Mead. Behind the Grange.
- 95. Bridge Mead. }
- 96. Pancake Field. } Near the Tiles.
- 97. Bridge Mead. }
- 98. Dyer Mead. }
- 99. Barn Mead.
- 105. Lower Philpots.
- 106. Upper Philpots.
- 112. Bell Grove. }
- 114. Bell Grove Mead. } Maple Tree Lane.
- 121. High Field. }
- 128. Garden Field. }
- 129. Orchard Mead. }
- 131. Burning's or Burrins }
- 133. Cottage Mead. } Near St. Leonards and Furze Hall.
- 136. Pit Mead. }
- 139. Great Meadow. }
- 144. Wood's Meadow. }
- 146. Cart Lodge Field. }

- 148. Church Field.
 - 149. Back Field.
 - 150. Halis's.
 - 151. Springfield.
 - 153. Clay Pit Field.
 - 155. Rushey Field.
 - 159. Moors.
 - 160. The Moors.
 - 161. Hilly Field.
 - 163. Great Mill Hill.
 - 164. Little Mill Hill.
 - 165. Pightle.
 - 166. Hoppet.
 - 174. Church Field.
 - 175. Nine Acres.
 - 178. Bag Lane Field.
 - 179, 180. Little Mead.
 - 181. Orchard Mead.
 - 189. Kiln Field. Behind Dodd's Farm.
 - 190. Moor's.
 - 193. Little Kiln Field.
 - 194. Cross Path Field.
 - 196. Wood Field.
 - 198. Clay Pit Field.
 - 199. Poor Field.
 - 200. Woodcock Field.
 - 200a. Way Field.
 - 201. Hilly Field.
 - 202. Broom Field.
 - 204. Hop Ground Mead.
 - 205. Church Wood.
 - 206. Warren Mead.
 - 208. Brick Clamps Field.
 - 211. Upper
 - 212. Lower
 - 213. Clay Pit Mead.
 - 214-216. Crown Field
 - 265. Little Trigate.
 - 274. Bitt Field.
 - 275. Long Field.
 - 279. Birch's.
 - 281. Great Birch's.
 - 282. Further
 - 283. First
 - 284. Ray Field.
 - 303. Hop Ground.
 - 305. First
 - 306. Further
 - 304. Lower Dockey.
- } Behind Rectory.
- } Fryerning Hill.
- } Three Gate Mead.
- } Upper Walls
- } Lower Walls
- } All near Docklands and the main road.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 307. Slipe. | } | All North of Stock Lane. |
| 310. Spring Pond Field. | | |
| 311. Pest Field. | | |
| 317. Great Field. | | |
| 318. Chase Field. | | |
| 319. Board's Land Mead. | | |
| 322. Stock Field. | | |
| 323. Long River Mead. | | |
| 325. Spring Field. | | |

I have gathered the following notes of field-names largely from *History of Stondon Massey*, and *Essex Review*, 1896. Many of these names speak for themselves; some cannot now be explained, and not a few are called after some departed and forgotten owner.

Pear Tree Field (12) is a common Essex field-name; **Pightle** (16 & 165) and **Hoppet** (166) are ancient terms for a small enclosure.

Rainbow Field (8). 'It seems that in Saxon days round each homestead there were great ploughed fields, usually three in number, open and unenclosed, each field divided into a number of little narrow strips. These strips, taken generally, were roughly cut acres of the proper size for ploughing, 40 rod in length and 4 in width. The Oxpole or goad, 16½ ft. long, was a convenient instrument for measuring the amount a man had to plough. The team generally consisted of eight oxen; and as few peasants possessed a whole team, several would join together and divide the produce. Hence the number of strips in a field was frequently eight, divided one from the other by a dividing balk of unploughed turf', which balk was called the Rain. 'When eight oxen were used they were guided by a man who walked on the near or left side. On arriving at the end of each furrow he turned them round, and as it was easier to pull than to push them, this gradually gave the furrow a turn towards the left, this accounting for the slight curvature often found, and explaining the name of Rainbow in this connexion.' Our field is rather long and narrow, and slightly curved. **Ray Field** (284) also is long and narrow.

Broom Field (202) betokens scrub-underwood and waste land, a place where broom would grow. **Moors** (75, 76, 160), sometimes waste, but more probably here the derivation comes from *mor*, a pool, as it is very wet here in winter.

Well Mead (85) and **Springfield** (151, 310, 325) speak for themselves as the happy possessors of water.

Warren Mead (206) has only to be looked at to picture the delight of the rabbits when introduced to it by the Romans, who left them as a legacy that many farmers would fain be without.

Brick Clamps Field (208). The bricks of our beautiful church tower are said to have been made here; and **Kiln Fields** (189, 193) bespeak the same useful trade.

Great and Little Mill Hill (163, 164) no longer deserve their

names, for the mill has long disappeared, though the mound upon which it stood still remains.

Church Wood (205), now an arable field on Fryerning Hill, may have been the wood that the Warden, Fellows and Scholars of Wadham College, Oxford, compounded with the Commissioners for disafforesting—the farms of Fryerning Hall—in 1639, March 9.

Hop Garden (80), **Hop Ground** (204, 303), are very interesting, recalling as they do the culture of the hop in old days. They have long since been banished, but an old manuscript in the British Museum recounts how in the seventeenth century the Parson of Sible Hedingham was accused of leaving his wife and maid to bag hops on Sunday while he went to Evening Prayer, and the same day weighed his hops and sent them to Bury for Monday's market.¹ Beautiful hops still grow in the hedges of one of the Ingatestone fields; doubtless they were cultivated there in old days.

Oak Ridden (47, 48) would seem to be a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *hriddan*, to clear, meaning 'an oak wood stubbed up'.

***Vineyard**, adjoining Ingatestone Hall, recalls the days when England made some at least of the wine she consumed.

Clay Pit Field (15, 198), **Clay Pit Mead** (65, 213), and probably **Pit Mead** (136) are the fields from which marl was dug, and used to manure the adjacent land.

Van Dieman's Land (40), spelt in the terrier 'Vandearman': probably so-called after the owner of the mill, for we read in the Ingatestone register: '1774. Francis Allen, Farmer, kill'd by a Blow from the Sails of Mr. Dearman's Mill.'

Great and Little Staines (2, 3). A family of Stane or Staines occurs frequently in the Ingatestone register, and it is possible the fields are called after them, for the land does not seem to be particularly stony.

Pancake Field (96) and **Pudding Bag Field** (13) I am at a loss to explain. There is no memory of any Pancake bell ever having been rung here; but this was probably monastery land in the old days, and it is very likely that sports and merriment were then held here on Shrove Tuesday.

***Dog Kennel Field**, near the Hyde and Dog Kennel Lane leading to Handley Barns. As this is close to the Grange, did the Abbess keep her hunting pack here?

***Brick Clamps, Hyde Lane**. Here the bricks for the present Hyde seem to have been made.

***Twelve Score Prick**. Where bow and arrow shooting took place in old days. I have not been able to locate it. See p. 337.

***In Ingatestone**. The Ingatestone Tithe-map contains few names.

¹ Coles MSS. 28-9.

APPENDIX H

FRYERNING VESTRY ACCOUNTS

Mr. G. P. Smith has kindly lent me the Churchwardens' Account Book commencing 1826, and the Vestry Minutes from 1819. These, I fear, are the earliest extant, but they throw an interesting light on our parishes in those days. I give a few items of payments and extracts; other notes culled from these books will be found in the chapter on *yesterday*, and elsewhere.

EXTRACTS FROM CHURCHWARDENS' VESTRY MINUTES, AND
ACCOUNT BOOKS, BETWEEN 1819 AND 1870.

Dec 6th 1819. A Stove for the purpose of airing the Church having been deemed necessary, it was resolved that such should be fixed in the Church, and as the Parishioners of Ingatestone are accommodated with sittings in the said Church it was submitted to the Vestry whether an application should be made to them for such contributions as they might think right to make towards defraying the charge of such Stove in conjunction with the parishioners of Fryerning—which it was determined to do, and it was also resolved that the deficit be paid by the Churchwardens.

Feb. 7th 1820. Ord^d that the Pulpit and Desk be decently and respectfully hung with Black Cloth on the present melancholy occasion of the Death of our late Sovereign George the third.

July 3rd 1820. It was unanimously agreed at this Vestry that the Blk Cloth that the Pulpit and Desk was covered with be sent to the Rev. Dr^r Michell [Rector] for his acceptance.

Nov. 5th 1821. Order^d that no High Shoes be granted to the Poor from this time, that no Pauper keeping a Dog or Dogs shall in future be relieved.

August 19th 1824. At a Vestry Meeting held this day for the purpose of examining the Church, and ascertaining the best mode of keeping the inside dry . . . we do agree to have a land drain made on the North side of the Church, and the Earth laid on a proper descent to carry off the eave water.

Feb. 3rd 1825. Ord^d that two Chaldron of Coals be purchased and sold to the Poor at half price, those with families to have two Bushels and those with no family 1 Bushel each time, and to be placed in the Cage for safety.

March 31st 1823. Sorrell W. Wife's Shoes mended, Smock frock for John. Lincey Woolcey frocks for 3 children. Reed W. a pair Shoes, Stockings, Leather Breeches, a Shirt. Hampshire George a Pair of Shoes. Pitchey, Girl to have a Pair Shoes, a Gown, 1 apron, a pair Stockings. Cassell Mary, a Shift and Petticoat. Tompson W., a shirt, Edward a Smock frock, younger Son . . . Jarvice Eldest son

to have Pair Leather Breeches, a Pair Stockings. Clark Thomas, a Shirt, a Pair of Stockings. Elizabeth Roberts, a Pair Shoes, a Shift. Collord Thomas, a Pair Shoes for Girl, Mrs. Ellis to have 8/- for attending Collord and his late Wife in their Illness.

(This is a fair sample of the entries concerning the doles that were given several times a year. Other pages record the weekly cash allowances and other payments, often for rent—all paid out of the Poor Rates. The wages at that time were horribly low, and the rates consequently horribly high.)

May 12th 1825. To take into consideration a plan for altering and improving the Workhouse and other business. We the Parishioners present consider the said House inconvenient for an increase of Poor, and as we are desirous of employing the Poor therein and procuring a Man and his Wife to manage the same, We therefore convene a Meeting of the Parish at the Poor House on Tuesday next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to see if such a plan can be carried into effect which we consider the most likely means to lessen the present burden of Poor Rates.

Dec. 15th 1825. To consider whether the Houses belonging to Mr. Edward Waghorn late of Fryerning Hall shall be purchased for the use of the poor, and to consider the means of defraying the expences and whatever may retard the same. The undermention'd Parishioners have unanimously agreed to purchase the same, and also to borrow a sum not exceeding Two Hundred Pounds to compleat the said Purchase.

Copy of Resolutions made in the Vestry Room at Ingatestone, Easter Monday April 16th 1827, respecting the Engine.—It is agreed and resolved by the Inhabitants of the Parishes of Ingatestone and Fryerning that the Engine, which is the joint property of the two said Parishes and is kept exclusively for their use, in case of fire in any part of the two said Parishes, that if from this time a fire shall unfortunately happen at any place beyond the bounds of these Parishes, the Engine shall not go to the Assistance of such misfortune unless any respectable Inhabitant will give an order for its use, and that such Person shall guarantee all contingent expences attending its journey, as also any expences that may be incurred by any injury it may sustain as by loss of Buckets, or in any other way, and it is further resolved that the Engine shall be taken out and exercised twice each year, viz. *on Easter Monday* and on the *first Tuesday in November*, on which days a deputation from the two Parishes shall attend and duly examine the state of repair in which it may be, and if any repairs shall be necessary they shall be duly authorised to give such orders, and such deputation from the two Parishes shall examine the Engine at the intervening Quarters in each year and Mr. Dawson and Mr. Self have been named and have kindly undertaken the office of inspection for the Year ensuing. It is at the same time agreed that *Mr. Whichcord* shall be principal Engineer at a salary of *Two Guineas per Annum*, and *Mr. Turnedge* of the Parish of Fryern

ing shall be appointed his Assistant at a Salary of *One Guinea per annum*, such salaries to be paid jointly by the Churchwardens of the two Parishes. Signed Rev. J. Lewis, Corn^s Butler, Joseph Crush, James Brabook, Sam^l Root, John Coverdale, James Andrewes, John Dawson, George Deane, Rob^t Bailey, Nath Turner, Cha^s Finch, William Sorrell, John Self.

April 25th 1832. At a Vestry Meeting this day it was proposed by Capt. Kortright and seconded by H. Walmesley, Esq., that the Parish cease Renting the Churchyard of the Rev. G. Price, which was unanimously agreed to, the Rent being paid to this time. It was ordered that a written notice be sent to the Victuallers and also to the Beer Houses in the Parish, that their Houses will frequently be visited on Sunday during Divine Service by the Parish Officers, and that any improper conduct observed therein will be reported to the Magistrates. A Deputation from the Ingatestone Vestry have this day attended with a Copy of certain Resolutions there entered into, for the purpose of forming a Committee of the two Parishes, to consider the expediency of consolidating the two Poor Houses. [Agreed to meet Ingatestone and consult.]

June 5th 1834. . . . for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of disposing of the Cottages belonging to the Parish by public auction in Fryerning lane in consequence of the difficulty the overseer experiences in collecting the Rents.

June 19th 1834. It was resolved that the said cottages do still remain the property of the Parish and not be sold. It was considered desirable to let the said Cottages consisting of three tenements to one respectable individual . . . Mr. Willis having offered nine pounds per annum, and his offer being the highest, the Parish have agreed to let them to him at that sum, and have undertaken to put them into tenantable repair . . . each party to give or receive twelve months' notice on their being given up.

PAYMENTS MADE BY CHURCHWARDENS OUT OF CHURCH RATE

This rate was usually 6*d.* in the pound, once 9*d.*, once 2*d.*

			£	s.	d.
1826	May	Visitation fees 16/6 Briefs 5/-	1	1	6
	July	Paid fees at Bishop's Visitation	1	16	0
		Expences attending do.		10	0
	Sept	Journey to Chelmsford with Jury List and expences		16	0
	Oct	Visitation fees 9/- Briefs 5/-		14	0
		Expences at do.		11	6
		Paid Church Clerk 1 year Salary	3	16	0
		Paid Lynn organist	1	1	0
		Mop 1/10 Shovel 4/6 Crier 1/-		7	4
		Paid the Rector for the Churchyard	2	2	0
		One Years Salary for Engineer	2	0	0
			Total for year 22 11 7		

The following years the same items keep on recurring. The Archdeacon seems to have come twice a year and the Bishop occa-

sionally. The Engineer was the head of the Fire Brigade ; the organist turned the handle of the barrel-organ in church. It is difficult to see what profit the parish derived by hiring the churchyard from the Rector at £2 2s. a year, and Captain Kortright of St. Leonards, and Mr. Walmesley of Furze Hall, carried the vestry with them when they proposed in 1832 that the payment should cease.

		£	s.	d.
1826	Paid M ^r Wall for Ringers		6	8
	Paid Miles for Ringers		6	8
	(Miles kept the Eagle tap.)			
1827	Paid for Quarter Chaldron Coal	12	0	
1830	July R. Frewer a Bill for Mourning for Church	4	8	6
	Postage 2 Letters to London		1	2
1831	M ^r Frewer Carpenter	2	8	11
	M ^r Dowsing Bricklayer	7	18	0
1835	Visitation fees at Eagle		4	0
	Apparitors do. 3/- Expences 10/6	13	6	
	1 lb Candles			6½
	Painting Churchyard Gates	13	6	
	Ringers King's birthday		5	0
1838	Paid Ringers Queens birthday		5	0
1839	M ^r Cants bill repairing Cage		8	0
	Bag for Surplus		2	6
1840	Cleaning Cage and Straw		3	0
1841	To a new Surplice	2	7	8
1842	M ^r Smith a Lanthorn		1	6
1845	M ^r Hogg Straw for Cage		8	0
1846	M ^r Brock a bill for Cage		4	0
1847	Cloth for Pulpit and Cn 21/- Fringe 9/-	1	10	0
	Henry Hogg for Cage		5	0

APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM FRYERNING MANOR COURT ROLLS
AND ARCHDEACON'S BOOKS

FRYERNING MANOR COURT ROLLS

Through the kindness of Dr. Dixey, Bursar of Wadham College, we were allowed to see the Court Rolls in February. They date from the time of Richard II, but contain little of interest. Possibly these entries are an echo of the unrest of Wat Tyler's time.

'Gynge Hospital . . . Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quarto . . . ex officio senescalli. [unnamed.] Willelmus Fitz Perys fecit finem quia rebellis fuit et noluit facere preceptum senescalli . . .'

Fin' vj d.
pleg' pa-
cis.

'Item presentant quod Willelmus Peche fecit resturs (?)
super ballivum domini et predictus Willelmus presens
in curia fecit finem cum domino ut patet in capite
et predictus Willelmus inuenit plegios pacis videlicet

Johannem Steel et Ricardum Auenaut de se bene gerendo versus Regem et populum suum, &c.'

miseri- 'Willelmus Smyth est rebellis in Curia menciendo (?)
cordia ijd homines coram senescallo ideo ipse in misericordia.'

Mention is made of a croft called 'Glasier schote' [Glass house?].

'Ricardi secundi post conquestum sexto.'

A 'cotagium nativum' [serf's cottage] called 'Sygandes.'

Mention is made of a ditch 'iuxta le Redstrate', a pasture called 'Couperesmore', a messuage and 12 acres of native land called 'le Baldewynes', a toft [farmstead] called 'le Dores' (this last is now Daws farm), Redstrate is Redingdyke.

In the eighteenth century the entries ceased to be in Latin, and many interesting names appear of inns and fields. Widow Kidby in 1690 surrenders *Stebbings*, estimated at 20 acres, and *Bronch Croft* one acre. This must have been on the death of her husband John Kidby, gentleman; the Fryerning register records the baptism of several children, the last in May 1690. John Kidby was son of the Rector of Shenfield, and Dame Dorothy was evidently not popular with her father-in-law, for the old man dying in 1694 left to each of her children £550, but this was to be forfeited entirely if their mother had not paid her brother-in-law 'Mr. John Hawkins the sum of £67 and od shillings by him lent to or laid out by the request of my said son John for Bullocks with interest for the same within one year next after my decease.' Poor little mites! In certain events her sons might inherit old John Kidby's landed estate, but neither their mother nor any of her relations were to intermeddle with it.

In 1735 Isaac flint is at the *Three Nuns*, or the Ship Inn. The *Anchor* is also mentioned, and the *Spread Eagle*, heretofore called the *Buck's Head*, and held by Rob^t Fermor, who may have been the father of Charles Fermor, D.D., who owned the *Swan* thirty years later.

In 1734 Alexander Brattle held land called *Richards*, about 15 acres. In 1733 Henry Hockley, a minor, was holding a messuage and tenement formerly called the *Bull* and now called the *Three Compasses*, and a certain tenement called *Motts*, with the barns, stables, and outhouses. Three years later (1736) John Hockley, of the *Black Boy*, built a chimney for his parlour upon the premises of Thos. Sandford, and was ordered to pull it down before September 29, or a penalty of £5. Perhaps this was the *Bull* under another name.

It is rather refreshing to find the lord of the manor reminded of his own shortcomings. 1736. 'Report that the Lord of the Manor ought to put up railings on each side of the Bridge leading from the Parsonage House to *Heny End* in the highway leading to Blackmore.' This is the bridge below Little St. Leonards, and Heny End the corner beyond Furze Hall. Morant says Heny is from the Saxon *hean*, high (ii. 272). As Charles Hornby was living at the time he probably caused the Report to be made.

Sir John Daniels, Serjeant-at-law, held the *Chequers* and the *Cross Chambers*, which in 1736 his widow, Lady Margaretta, surrendered, and they passed to Ann Muilman, wife of Henry Muilman, Esq.; in 1742 her heirs were called to account about the *Chequers*, 'to which a new gitt (gist?) house was lately built with several rooms and stables thereunto belonging, and upon the pieces of land several fairs and markets are held at or near Ingatestone,' and no proper notice had been given. The new gist-house may have been the Cross Chambers attached to the Chequers, and the entry in the Ingatestone register of the new gist-house at Rawlins and the death at the X may refer to this, p. 449. I suggest that the Cross Keys may have been the New Inn, now Dr. Ransford's, and the Cross Chambers the present Star. In 1751 the Chequers was owned by John Ord, Esq., who devised it to Thos. Thompson.

In 1753 *Longcroft* and *Pitfield* are mentioned, and John Snow holds *Pooles*, otherwise the *Tan House*, with *Home field*, *Little field*, *Lime field*, and *Grave field*. The year before, the *Woolpack* had been surrendered by Thos. Winterflood, and taken by John Wood, Postmaster of Ingatestone. *Boyland* is also mentioned.

In 1750 'John Turner, a gentleman, surrendered all those his customary tenements and messuages called *Coles*, with 3 closes of land containing about 6 acres, and with the appurtenances, and all his . . . lands and premises called *Leonards*, *Hickamps*, *Philpotts*, and the lands called the *Moors*, in the occupation of Bowerman, widow, and John Dowset'. It passed to William Wootton, of Romford.

About 1753 Elizabeth Comyns, spinster, held *Cooper*, *Bulrooden*, otherwise *Burredin* and *Wood Barns*. Burredin is probably now Burrins.

THE ARCHDEACON'S BOOKS

The Rev. Dr. A. Clark, of Great Leighs, has kindly sent me the following extracts from the Churchwardens' Presentment Papers at the Archdeacon's Courts, 1841-1879.

Fryerning. 1841. Tower and interior of nave under repair. 1853. Nave roof out of repair. 1861. Church and Chancel in disrepair. 1876. Lead of Tower decayed and Tower in disrepair.

Church Services. 1841. Sunday 11 a.m., 3 p.m. (2.30 p.m. in winter). Holy Communion at the four great Festivals. 1845. Holy Communion at the four Festivals and three other times. 1846. At the three Festivals and once a month.

Church Plate. 1848. One flagon, one chalice with cover, one paten. 1849. One flagon, one chalice, one paten, one almsdish.

Churchyard. 1848. Is fenced by Quick-hedge, repair of which belongs to parish. 1874. Churchyard is fenced by hedge, palings and hurdles. 1842-1861. Churchwardens continuously report that the Rector turns cattle into the churchyard to graze there. [This

evidently was the result of the Churchwardens declining to continue the payment of £2 a year to Rector Price for the churchyard. See Churchwardens' Accounts.]

Ingatestone. 1841-2. Church (internally) improved and embellished, pews improved and considerably increased. 1853. Chancel repairs belong partly to Lord Petre, partly to Rector.

Church Services. Sunday 11 a.m., 3 p.m. Holy Communion once every six weeks.

Church Plate. (These returns are from carelessness very contradictory.) Always two flagons, but Chalices vary from two to four, patens one to three, Almsdish one to two.

Churchyard. 1849. Fenced mainly by walls; repair of fence is incumbent on owners of adjoining land. 1854. Fenced by brick wall and palings; palings very bad. 1862. Churchyard is well fenced by wall and hedge; repairs are due by different landowners. 1876. Churchyard is fenced by walls and iron-railings; repairs are due by parish and by Rector. [No reason given for the change.] 1857 and 1867. The churchyard is 'fed with sheep'. 1854. One tree cut down used in repair of Rectory. 1857. Several still lying in churchyard May 1860.

Parish surplice. 1841. There is one good one, and a new one ordered. 1863. Surplice is bad; a new one to be provided.

Buttsbury. From 1840 to 1850 there was no service at Buttsbury, and from 1850 to 1853 only on a few summer evenings. On the death of Rector Lewis the parish petitioned the Archdeacon that better provision for services should be made, but there was no improvement until Rector Parkin came in 1860. He was praised in 1862 for having more services, and four Celebrations of Holy Communion.

1841. Church and Chancel good. Tower sound. 1842. Chancel wall and floor damp. 1848. Churchyard fence is by hedge; parish repairs. 1853. Churchyard fence is partly by hedge partly by paling. Chancel repairs belong to Impropiator (Lord Petre). 1854. Two trees cut down in Churchyard for repair of Ingatestone rectory-house. 1863. Walls of Chancel somewhat sunk. Lord Petre repaired the Chancel before 1866.

1848 onwards. Documents as to Charities are supposed to be at Stock Church. 1866. Churchwarden says there are no Charities, and no documents. 1850 onwards. Registers are said to be at Ingatestone Rectory. [1913. Now at Ingatestone Church.]

APPENDIX K

A. E. I. O. U.

The following letter from *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, v. 309, explains the Austrian device :

'These vowels were adopted as a device by Frederick, Emperor of Germany, who was elected in 1424, and from the period of whose election the imperial succession, though contested, has been uninterruptedly in the House of Austria. Frederick was an alchymist, an astrologer, and a believer in magic. He died at the age of eighty-three, of a surfeit of melons, after reigning fifty-three years. In his reign the vowels figured on Government buildings, regimental flags, on the backs of imperial books, and even on the handles of the emperor's spoons. They were for a time a puzzle, but the following triple interpretation of them was made for the benefit of the perplexed :

A ^{ustriae} lles ustria	E st rdreich ver	I ^{mperare} st mperial	O ^{rbi} esterreich ver	U ^{niverso} nterthan niverse'
---	--	--	--	---

APPENDIX L

NAMES OF PARISHES AND HOUSES FOUND IN OLD MAPS, DEEDS, AND BOOKS

There is very great variety in old days, both in the names of the parishes and in the spelling ; I give those that Mrs. Christy and I have met with.

FRYERNING

Ingatestone, in very old deeds.
Inge.
Yng.
Ging.
Ging Hospital.
Ging Friars.
Ging Berners.
Fryerne.
Fryerne Ing.
Frian.
Frieryng.
Fryeryng.
Friering.
Friarnit.
Fryan.

INGATESTONE

Inga.
Ginge.
Ging ad Petrum.
Ging.
Gingatstone.
Ging atte-stone.
Inge.
Ginge Petre.
Ging Abbess.
Ingatston.
Ing-at-Stone.
Ingarstone.
Ingerstone.
Engerston.
Engerstone.
Enggerstone.
Ingateston.

} So in all the French
maps of 17th and
early 18th century.

In Chapman and André's large map, 1774, the following houses are marked: *In large type*—Thoby, Huskcurds, The Hide, Mill Green House, Furze Hall, Gang Barns (now St. Leonards Farm), Tan yard. *In italics*—Truelove, Leonards (now Little St. Leonards), Wood Barnes, Brick House (now St. Leonards), Little Phillips (now Grange, Ing.), Spilfeathers, Rays, The Workhouse (i.e. Almshouse, Stock Lane), Ingatestone Hall, Daws, Brick Kiln (on Mill Green), The Hall (Fryerning), Parsonage (Fryerning Rectory), Abridge (now Dodds), Hanley Barn, Harden. There are also marked these places—Mill Green, Hide Green, Henley Green, Green Street Green (this is shown as a wide open space running N.W. from Brook Cottages).

In Warburton (1720?): Ingatestone Hall, Thoby, True Loves, Fryerning, and F. Hall, Hide Hall.

Morant (1768) gives the same.

In Greenwood (1825): Rays, Ingatestone Hall, Thoby Priory, True Love, Wood Barnes, Howlet Hall, Furze Hall, St. Leonards, Brick Ho. (close to St. Leonards), Leonards (now Little St. Leonards), Fryerning, Parsonage, Mill Green House, The Grange, Huskards, The Hyde, Harden, Henley Barn. Also Henley Green, Hyde Green, Mill Green, and Green Street Green.

Names found in old documents: *Ingatestone, Essex.*

Colliers	R. Godfrey	36 Henry 8	April 23 1544.
Collyers	R. Sturgeon	2 Eliz. (Marcur:)	Oct. 16 1560.
Strete Bridge	Eus. Fynche	9 ^o "	6 1567.
Strete Bridge	E. & I. Fynche	10 ^o "	Mar. 23 1567/8.
Colliers	T. Sturgeon	10 ^o "	23 1567/8.
Wellfields	P. Robynson	38 ^o "	8 1595/6.
Colliers	T. Tabor	39 ^o "	17 1596/7.
Colliers	W. Petchey	40 ^o "	Oct. 16 1598.
Wellfields	W. Robynson	2 ^o Jac.	April 2 1604.
Racketts	J. Wallenger	14 ^o "	Mar. 1616.
Wellfields	H. Peartt	15 ^o "	Oct. 20 1618.
Byrdelands	J. Wallenger	20 ^o "	April 15 1622.
Dales Farm	Pope and Springfield	22 ^o Jac.	Oct. 18 1624.
Racketts	Peart		Sept. 25 1650.

APPENDIX M

NOTES ON INGATESTONE CHURCH PLATE

BY THE REV. W. J. PRESSEY

Description, in brief, of the Church Plate belonging to the Parish of Ingatestone.

1. A Cup, with the date mark for 1675 and a maker's mark R C between six pellets in a dotted ellipse.

Height, 8 in. Diameter of Bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. ; of Foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. Weight, 11 oz. 1 dwt.

2. A Pair of Cups, each with a cover, with the date mark for 1728, and a maker's mark T T, a cinquefoil above surmounted by a coronet in a shaped stamp (for Thomas Tearle). Inscribed with the weight.

Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Diameter of Bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; of Foot, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; same height and diameter for both. Weight, No. 1, 12 oz. 16 dwt. ; No. 2, 13 oz. 5 dwt.

3. A plain Silver Paten, on a foot, with the date mark for 1725, and a maker's mark R A in black lettering, two pellets above and a pellet below, in a shaped stamp (for John Rand).

Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Diameter, $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. ; of Foot, 4 in. Weight, 14 oz. 16 dwt.

4. A Pair of Flagons, one with the date mark for 1725, the other with the date mark for 1728, and each having a maker's mark E G in a diamond stamp (for Eliza Goodwin), and each with the weight inscribed on foot. Both have whistles.

Height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. Diameter of Top, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; of Base, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Weight, No. 1, 35 oz. 9 dwt. ; No. 2, 35 oz. 10 dwt.

5. A plain Plate for Alms, with the date mark for 1725, and a maker's mark E G in a diamond-shaped stamp (for Eliza Goodwin).

All the pieces are silver.

The above particulars were kindly given me by the Rev. W. J. Pressey, August 22, 1913, when he examined the Plate deposited at Barclay's Bank, Chelmsford. This book was then in type.

INDEX OF NAMES

[Names of Inns will be found at the end.]

- Abercorn, Lord, 376.
 Adam, 294, 328.
 Adkins, 278, 331.
 Akerman, Sam., 305.
 Aldborough, 383.
 Aldgate, 380, 391.
 Alemanni 6, 7.
 All Souls College, 164, 165.
 Andrews, James, 45, 211, 470.
 Annaly, Princes of, 153.
 Ap Rice, 37.
 Archer, Thomas, 287.
 Arundel, Henry, 287.
 Ashburton, 146.
 Asher, William, 56, 400.
 Atkinson, Tindal, 159, 291.
 Austin, F. and J., 216.
 Avenell, Mrs, 73.

 Baddow, Great, 129.
 Bailey, R., 470.
 Baker, fam., 28, 409.
 Baker, Richard, 28.
 Baker, Thomas, 27, 28.
 Baring, Miss, 291.
 Barker, J., 333.
 Barker, Thomas, 214.
 Barking, 10, 11, 18, 24, 31, 32, 42, 355.
 Barking, Abbess of, 11, 24, 30, 164, 356, 358, 395.
 Barking Land, 32, 459.
 Barnard, Rev. M., 57.
 Barnardiston, Arthur, 241.
 Barrett, T. Leonard, 367.
 Basill, Rector Timothy, 118.
 Bastiwyke, Thomas, 412.
 Bays, 319.
 Beard, William, 125, 427.
 Beaugrants, 38.
 Bec Abbey, 14, 33, 34, 40, 94.
 Bedesman's Berg, 40, 42, 402.
 Beggar Hill, 8, 32, 41, 46, 161, 280, 331, 341.
 Bell Grove, 32, 38, 104.
 Berdefield, Margaret, 411.
 Berington, Revs. Thos. and Chas., 222, 286.
 Bernard, Eustace, 213.
 Berners, fam., 25, 27, 38.
 Berners, Antony, 26, 27, 28, 108.
 Berners, Griseld, 26, 27, 28.
 Berners, John, 25.
 Berners, Leonard, 26, 107.
 Berners, Mary, 107.
 Berners, Richard, 26.
 Berners, Thomas, 26.
 Berners, William, 25, 26, 41, 108, 409.
 Berners pedigree, 411.
 Bertin, Dr., 91.
 Bevington, *see* Berington.
 Bevis, R., 323.
 Billericay, 211, 248, 287, 333, 342, 353, 354.
 Bingham, 304.
 Birch, John, 144.
 Birdbrook, 188.
 Bishop Stortford, 172.
 Blackburne, Rev. Francis, 297.
 Blackfriars, 13.
 Blackmore, 40, 42, 43, 96, 103, 126, 151, 207, 290, 298, 333, 342, 350, 352, 360, 402.
 Blake, Rector John, 146.
 Blandford, Rector H. W., 66, 160.
 Blood, Miss, 190, 404.
 Bocking, 353, 383, 393.
 Body, John, 174.
 Boleyn, Q. Anne, 360.
 Bonham, Rosamund, 207, 457.
 Bonham, T., 208.
 Borda, 12.
 Boreham, 360.
 Boyne, W., 333.
 Bow, 385.
 Bowry, Rev. Sam., 451.
 Bowyer, Sir George, 314.
 Brabook, J., 470.
 Braddon, Miss, 303.
 Braintree, 82, 383.
 Bramston, Thos., 185, 187.
 Brand, Timothy, 215, 291, 298.
 Brand, Thomas, sen., 292.
 Brand, Thomas, (Hollis), 216, 292, 299.
 Brandon House, 279.
 Brasier, fam., 401, 425.
 Brasier, Rector Antony, 103, 165.
 Brasier, Anthony, 323, 451.
 Brasier, John, 452.

Brasier, Thomas, 452.
 Brattle, Alexander, 472.
 Brentwood, 192, 248, 292, 333, 342,
 353, 354, 361, 379, 385.
 Bright, William, 458.
 Brook Cottages, 318.
 Brook Cottages, Green Street, 318.
 Broomfield, 13, 144, 402.
 Brouncher, Barbara, 298.
 Browne, Sir Henry, 172, 174.
 Brunswick, 388.
 Bruton, King's School, 160.
 Buckler, G., 61 fol., 71 fol., 97, 299 fol.
 Buckley, Lilius C., 298.
 Burnel, Ph., 19, 23.
 Burrins Pond, 5, 282.
 Burton, Lady, 287.
 Bury St. Edmunds, 381.
 Butler, Charles, 403, 452.
 Butler, Cornelius, 470.
 Butler, John, 27, 411.
 Butler, Mary, 27, 452.
 Butler, Mrs. Peter, 116.
 Butler, Sarah, 27.
 Butler, Thomas, 452.
 Buttsbury, 11, 34, 35, 168, 201, 240, 452.

 Cable, fam., 55.
 Calderwood, Margaret, 368.
 Caldicott, 280, 317.
 Cambridge, 130, 144.
 Campbell, Mrs. Alex., 277.
 Campbell, Charles, 276, 277, 307.
 Campbell, Frank, 276.
 Canonbury, 382, 385.
 Caroline, Queen, 385.
 Carr, 317.
 Cartaret, Bridget, 213, 309.
 Cartaret, Bridget, jun., 311.
 Cartaret, Edward, 213, 309.
 Catchpole, Margaret, 379.
 Catherine, Empress of Russia, 268.
 Chad, 8.
 Chadwell, 385.
 Chalton, 120.
 Chambers, Sir Wm., 294.
 Chancellor, Frederick, 63, 75, 251, 282,
 299, 339.
 Chantry, 319.
 Chapel House, 273, 279.
 Chappell Yard, 35.
 Charles I, 364.
 Charlotte, Queen, 248, 376.
 Chase, 8, 319.
 Chelmsford, 29, 128, 129, 133, 186, 333,
 339, 342, 358, 361, 362, 365, 366,
 367, 380, 383, 385, 386, 392, 394.
 Chester, 150.
 Chesterford, Great, 105.
 Chignal St. James, 186.

Christy, Archibald, 317, 339.
 Christy, David, 343.
 Christy, Miller, 61 fol., 74, 109, 282,
 289, 329.
 Clare, fam., 14, 39.
 Clare, Gilbert, 14, 33, 44.
 Clare, Margaret, 14, 33, 34.
 Clarkson, Rev. J., 218, 304.
 Clerkenwell, 21, 25, 35.
 Cliffe, John, 169.
 Cliffe, Rector Nicholas, 102, 169.
 Clift, R. and W., 220, 289.
 Clifton, Thomas, 258.
 Clifton, W. Comyns, 144.
 Clutterbuck, Clara Anne, 312.
 Clutterbuck, Thomas, 213, 309.
 Clutterbuck, Thomas, jun., 309, 311.
 Clyff, fam., 214, 217.
 Cobbold, R., 380.
 Cockbridge Lane, 452.
 Cockey, Rector Edward, 67, 161.
 Coesvelt, Sarah E. G., 314.
 Coesvelt, Will. Gordon, 40, 206, 313,
 458.
 Coesvelt, W. G., jun., 291, 314.
 Coggeshall, 69.
 Colchester, 16, 19, 172, 275, 364, 373,
 379, 384, 387, 391, 392, 451.
 Cole, Will., 39.
 Coller, D. W. A., 212, 304.
 Comyns, Baron, 144.
 Comyns, Elizabeth, 39, 473.
 Conches, 91.
 Conybeare, H. G. M., 280.
 Cornishes, 318.
 Corscombe, 292, 298.
 Corser, Margaret, 69.
 Cottage, Fryerning, 279.
 Cottage, Ingatestone, 280.
 Coverdale, F. J., 304, 342.
 Coverdale, John, 219, 261, 470.
 Cowland, E., 214.
 Cowper, Sir Charles, 276.
 Cox, Rev. Thomas, 144.
 Cressing, 22.
 Crewkerne, 146.
 Cromer, 383.
 Crush, Joseph, 220, 316, 470.
 Curry Rivel, 146.
 Cusack, Christopher, 211, 285.
 Cusack, Louisa, 211, 286.

 Dagenham, 311.
 Danes, 9, 10.
 Daniels, John, 473.
 Daniels, Margaretta, 473.
 Davies, Ellen, 69.
 Davies, Rev. Humphrey, 165, 168.
 Daws, 317, 472.
 Dawson, John, 60, 67, 469.

- Dawson, William, 208.
 Deane, G., 470.
 Dearman's Mill, 313.
 Defoe, Daniel, 249, 379.
 Deguilleville, Guillaume, 89.
 Delmore, 280.
 De Neufville, 189, 218.
 Dent, William, 154.
 Derwentwater, Earl of, 247, 249.
 Dibdin, Charles, 403.
 Dimsdale, Baron, 268.
 Disney, 210.
 Disney, Edgar, 205, 216, 298.
 Disney, Col. Edgar John, 192, 298.
 Disney, Edgar Norton, 298.
 Disney, Jane, 210, 297.
 Disney, Rev. Dr. John, 210, 295.
 Disney, John, 59, 104, 210, 297, 308, 313.
 Disney-flytche, Sophia, 210, 298.
 Docklands, 7, 215, 318, 339.
 Doddinghurst, 52, 186, 356.
 Dodds, 280.
 Dog Kennel Lane, 299.
 D'Oyley, Charles, 136.
 D'Oyley, James, 142.
 D'Oyley, Rector Robert, 70, 99, 136, 458.
 Du Cane, 367.
 Du Cane, Mrs. Alfred, 69, 306.
 Eagles, George, 53.
 Eames, T. and S., 212.
 Earle, Rector Charles, 83, 192.
 Eastwood, 151, 155, 157, 275.
 Eden, Elizabeth, 411.
 Edmonton, 276.
 Eglinton, Antony, 99, 151, 287.
 Eldred, E. and M., 213.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 303, 363.
 Elliot, Ed., 39.
 Elmfield, 319.
 Enfield, 378, 392.
 Etough, Rev. D. O., 218.
 Evanes, G., 196, 323, 333.
 Ewell, 264.
 Ewelme, 452.
 Ewer, Elizabeth (Glascock), 452.
 Ewer, Rector John, 97, 102, 177, 417.
 Ewer, William, 177.
 Exton, Bridget (Cartaret), 309.
 Exton, Thomas, 309.
 Eyre, Chief Justice, 144.
 Fairfield, 24, 394.
 Fairstead, 103.
 Fancot, Mr., 292.
 Farrant, J., 337.
 Farrell, Rev. W. E., 151, 153, 157, 206, 279.
 Felstead, 292.
 Fermor, Charles, 472.
 Fermor, Robt., 472.
 Fermour, Arabella, 247.
 Finch, C., 470.
 Fingrith Hall, 43.
 Fitz Perys, William, 471.
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 294.
 Flint, Isaac, 472.
 Fobbing, 353.
 Fogarty, Mal., 216.
 Folly Hall, 176, 241.
 Forman, 313, 372, 390.
 Forman, Stephen, 317.
 Foster, J. P. T., 288.
 Frid, 33, 34.
 Friend, Capt., 276.
 Frierne Wood, 38.
 Froissart, 355.
 Fryerning Churchyard, 206, 336, 471, 473.
 Fryerning Grange, 161, 280.
 Fryerning Hall, 26, 27-29, 45, 280, 336.
 Fryerning Rectory, 280, 281.
 Furnival, M. F. K., Baroness, 248.
 Furze Hall, 32, 33, 38, 39, 139, 145, 282, 339, 342, 402.
 Fyfield, 355.
 Fynche, Eus., 476.
 Gads End, 36, 38.
 Gads Green End, 283.
 Galiena de Burgat, 33.
 Galleywood, 382, 384.
 Gardner, Mr., 104.
 Garfoote, Elizabeth (Brasier), 451.
 Garfoote, William, 292, 451.
 Garnier de Naplouse, 15, 410.
 Gate House, 319.
 Gedge, 27, 39.
 Gedge, pedigree, 411.
 Gedge, Joanne, 39.
 Gedge, Mary, 27, 39, 411.
 George III, 270, 377.
 George IV, 385.
 Gepp, Edward, 287.
 Gernon, Robert, 12, 13.
 Gibbons, Walter, 154.
 Gifford, George, 113, 114.
 Gillingham, Rector George, 120.
 Ginges, 409.
 Glascock, Dorothy, 452.
 Glascock, James, 206, 451.
 Glascock, John, 451.
 Glasgow, 292, 293.
 Glasier Schote, 472.
 Glass House, 45.
 Gloucester, Duke of, 355.
 Godfrey, J., 323, 333.
 Godfrey, R., 476.

- Golde, Rector Henry, 164.
 Goldsmith, O., 277.
 Goulden, J., 313.
 Gower, floote, 187.
 Graham, P., 287.
 Grange, Ingatestone, 288.
 Grant, Chas., 313.
 Grant, Rev. Roderick, 222, 257.
 Great Road, 391.
 Greaves, Rich., 241.
 Green, Rector John, 165.
 Greenfield, P. G., 68.
 Green Street, 389.
 Greenwich, 351.
 Grey, Lady K., 361.
 Grut, Edwin, 12.
 Gyles, Thos., 452.

 Hallifax, Rev. Dr., 264.
 Hallingbury, Much, 129.
 Halls, H., 319.
 Hammond, Richard, 292.
 Hamo de Chiver, 35.
 Hanley Barn, 12, 317.
 Hanley Green, 12, 289.
 Hanningfield, 342.
 Hansard, Dorothy, 25, 411.
 Harding's Farm, 343.
 Hare Street, 367, 385.
 Harlow, 394.
 Harris, Chris., 411.
 Harris, Misses E. and M., 80.
 Harris, George, 289.
 Harris, J. and M., 208.
 Harvard, U.S.A., 293, 295.
 Harwich, 350, 363, 372, 374, 376, 379, 382, 383, 387, 395.
 Hastings, Lady Elizabeth, 137.
 Hatfield Peverell, 116.
 Hatton, A. and R., 145.
 Havering, 15, 351, 355, 364.
 Havers, Misses, 304.
 Hawdon, Rector Randolph, 110, 416.
 Hawkins, Rev. B. D., 190.
 Hawkins, John, 472.
 Hayter, Benjamin, 415.
 Heatley, 190, 218.
 Henrietta Maria, 363.
 Henry II, 94.
 Henry VII, 358.
 Henry VIII, 303, 360.
 Henry de Maldon, Rector, 15, 24, 410.
 Heny End, 472.
 Herberges, 310.
 Herry's, Edw., 28.
 Hertford, Earl of, 14, 25, 410.
 Hevingham, Thomasine, 411.
 Heybridge and Farm, 16, 46, 290, 391.
 Hide, Little, Lower, Further, Upper, Green, 317, 429.
 Highwood, 5, 16, 44, 334, 402.
 Hilder, Frank, 291.
 Hill House, 319.
 Hilliard, fam., 135, 142, 292.
 Hillier, Harry, 452.
 Hindon, 295.
 Hoadley, Bishop, 137.
 Hockleigh, 161, 171.
 Hockley, Henry and John, 472.
 Hodeldred, 10.
 Hodson, T., 329, 378.
 Hogg, 209, 279.
 Hogg, Alexander, 404.
 Hogg, Miss, 41, 271, 400.
 Holcomb, Ch. Thos., 312.
 Hollis, Thomas, 292, 298.
 Hollis, Thomas Brand, 216, 292.
 Holmes, Rector, 213.
 Hornby, Charles, 39, 70, 139, 144, 283, 288, 290, 367, 459, 472.
 Hornchurch, 310, 311.
 Horndon, West, 169.
 Hotham, Sir Charles, 312.
 Hotham, Gertrude and Melusina, 312.
 Houchin, Miss and Rev. J. W., 3, 416.
 Houlton, Rev. Robert, 272, 273.
 House, J., 69.
 House, Rector W. J., 162.
 Howard, J., 215, 291.
 Howlett's Hall, 284, 290, 372.
 Hull, Miss J., 333.
 Huntingdon, Earl of, 137, 143.
 Huntingtower, Lord, 311.
 Hurlock, B. B., 215.
 Huskards, 215, 220, 284, 290, 402.
 Hut, 291, 342.
 Hyde, 291, 342, 343.
 Hylands, 16, 17, 19, 306, 315.

 Ilford, 385.
 Ilgar, 12.
 Ilminster, 150.
 Ing, 6.
 Ingatestone Hall, 24, 278, 299, 394, 402.
 Ingatestone, New Rectory, 319.
 Ingatestone, Old Rectory, 305.
 Ingleston, George, 378.
 Ingrave, 105.
 Ipswich, 380.

 Jack Cade, 356.
 Jackson, John, 378.
 Jenkyn, Rector W. J. F., 190.
 Jenner, Rev. Dr. John, 148, 188.
 Jephson, Rev. J. Mountney, 291, 315.
 Jervis, Rev. Thomas, 211.
 Jessopp, Joseph, 286.
 Jesus College, Oxford, 185, 189.
 Jocom, 17, 19.

- John, King, 351.
 Johnson, Dr., 378.
 Jones, Thomas, 214, 373.
 Jordan de Briset, 35.
 Jordan's Farm, 343.
 Joyce, Wm., 243.
 Jumièges, 91.

 Kamps, 283.
 Kebyll, 217.
 Kelke, Sarah, 154.
 Kelly, Rev. George, 147.
 Kemp, Will, 361.
 Kidby, John, 472.
 Kielmansegge, Count, 390.
 King, Mrs., 328.
 Kirkland, Wm., 286.
 Knights Hospitallers, 15, 20, 23, 24, 30, 32, 92.
 Knights Templars, 20, 21.
 Kortright, arms, 206.
 Kortright, Augustus, 282, 315.
 Kortright, Mrs. A., 220, 316.
 Kortright, Cornelius H., 207, 315.
 Kortright, Juliana, 207, 309.
 Kortright, Lady, 66.
 Kortright, Lt. Mounteney, 205.
 Kortright, Capt. W., 37, 40, 287, 315, 470.
 Kortright, W. M., 291, 314, 315, 342.

 Lacer, Rich., 23.
 Lady Audley's Secret, 328, 452.
 Laud, Archbishop, 122, 170.
 Laver, Dr., 282.
 Laver, Mrs., 220, 291.
 Laver, Little, 14, 50, 93, 94.
 Leaves, Rector John, 146, 367.
 Leonards, 473.
 Leonards Land, 38.
 Lewis, C. Carne, 218.
 Lewis, Rector John, 188.
 Lewis, Rector John, jun., 189, 217, 474.
 Lewis, Richard, 190, 218, 403.
 Lightoaks, 306.
 Limes, 306, 328.
 Limpsfield, 76.
 Lincoln's Inn, 293.
 Lindsey, Thomas, 296.
 Llanyornon, 187.
 Lloyd, David, 187.
 Lloyd, Nathaniel, 144.
 Lloyd, Rector Pierce, 101, 147, 185.
 Loker, 197, 290.
 Lorton, 148, 152.
 Lucas, A. P., 282.
 Lucas, J. and C., 364, 366.
 Lyminge, 158.
 Lyndsays, 307.
 Lyon, George, 304.

 Maddocke, Rector Ludowick, 110.
 Maiden Newton, 169.
 Maidstone, 131.
 Maisonnnette, 215, 272, 275, 307.
 Malcolm, 291.
 Maldon, 93, 113, 114.
 Man, J. and M., 214.
 Manningtree, 373.
 Manse, 319.
 Maple Tree Lane, 8, 45, 331.
 Margaretting, 15, 16, 27, 57, 89, 98, 126, 333, 343, 382.
 Maria Theresa, Empress, 265.
 Mariot, Anne, 323.
 Market Place, 399.
 Mary I, 303, 360.
 Mary II, 366.
 Matilda, Empress, 14, 94.
 Maud, Queen, 11.
 Meadowcroft, Rev., 201.
 Medici, Mary de, 363.
 Meggy and Chalk, 304.
 Merchant Taylors' School, 191.
 Meresfield, 28.
 Michell, Rector Dr. Richard, 155, 206.
 Mildmay, Thos., 362, 364.
 Milestone House, 329.
 Mill, Dr. H. R., 344.
 Mill Green, 4, 8, 44, 284, 338, 341, 342, 343, 350, 401.
 Mill Green House, 307.
 Mill Green House, Old, 291, 298, 306, 307.
 Mill Green Park, 313, 342.
 Mill Hurst, 313.
 Miller, Robert, 315.
 Mistley, 384.
 Mitchell, Sarah, 292.
 Monmouth, 149, 150, 189.
 Montfichet, fam., 10, 39, 296.
 Montfichet, Gilbert, 14, 32, 33, 92, 409.
 Montfichet, Jocosa, 17, 19.
 Montfichet, Margaret, 14, 15, 33, 94, 410.
 Montfichet, Rich., 15, 17, 18, 409.
 Montfichet, Rich., jun., 19.
 Montfichet, W., 13.
 Montficquet, 34.
 Moor Hall and Farm, 28, 29, 141.
 Moore's Ditch, 5.
 Mordaunt's Dragoons, 202.
 Moulsham Hall, 129.
 Mountnessing, 16, 35, 36, 38, 122, 126, 129, 167, 333, 402.
 Mountney, fam., 7, 31, 35.
 Muilman, Ann, 473.

 Navestock, 201.
 Neave, Sheffield, 313.
 Nelson, Dr. Philip, 294.

Newberry, H., 78, 191, 401.
 Newhall, 303.
 Newland Hall, 27.
 Nicolas, Antony, 292.
 Nithsdale, 318.
 Noailles, Countess de, 291.
 Noakes, Mrs., 330.
 Norden, D., 452.
 Norfolk, 356, 360.
 Norfolk, Duke of, 143, 248.
 North Weald, 16.
 Norton Disney, 296.
 Norton Mandeville, 33.
 Norwich, 350, 357, 361.
 Nun of Kent, 165.
 Nutter, Rector Robert, 118.

Oar, Roger, 113.
 Oates, Margaret, 205.
 Olmstead, fam., 35, 39.
 Olmstead, Thos., 35, 337.
 Ongar, 176, 187, 263, 290, 351, 355, 356.
 Ord, John, 473.
 Orsett, 40.
 Osborn, George, 283, 336, 338.
 Oswy, 8.
 Owen, Rector William, 99, 115, 281.
 Oxford, Earl of, 367.

Page, 458.
 Page, R., 41.
 Palmer, Rev. Felix, 159.
 Palmer, Will., 35, 211.
 Panfield, 113.
 Panmede, 37.
 Panton, 296.
 Papendick, Mrs., 270, 377.
 Parkin, Miss A., 58, 59, 74, 400.
 Parkin, Rector Lewis, 75, 78, 80, 191, 474.
 Parkinson, 280.
 Parkinson, Rog., 35.
 Parr, Cath., 411.
 Parys, Thos., 31.
 Paste Houses, 275.
 Paston, A. and J. and W., 357, 358.
 Payne, John, 54, 222, 237.
 Payton, Rector William, 121.
 Peake, Daniel, 128, 365.
 Peake, Rector John, 128, 196.
 Peake, Mary, 134, 292.
 Peartt, H., 476.
 Pease, T. and E., 216.
 Peche, W., 471.
 Pembroke College, Cambridge, 184.
 Pepys, Samuel, 243, 366.
 Percival, Isaac, 452.
 Perry, Samuel, 209, 337.
 Petchey, W., 476.
 Peterhouse, Cambridge, 296.

Petre, fam., 72, 165, 169, 366, 367, 474.
 Petre, Sir William, 24, 29, 31, 54, 72, 229, 251, 259, 299, 303, 360, 361, 395, 412.
 Petre, 1st Baron, John, 165, 238, 252.
 Petre, 2nd Baron, William, 72, 239, 252.
 Petre, 3rd Baron, Robert, 240.
 Petre, 4th Baron, William, 180, 240.
 Petre, 5th Baron, John, 246.
 Petre, 6th Baron, Thomas, 246.
 Petre, 7th Baron, Robert, 105, 247.
 Petre, 8th Baron, Robert James, 247.
 Petre, 9th Baron, Robert Edward, 219, 248, 377.
 Petre, 12th Baron, William Bernard, 59, 72, 250.
 Petre, 13th Baron, William Joseph, 248.
 Petre, Dame Anne, 27, 231, 238, 251, 259, 360.
 Petre, Anne, Lady, 243.
 Petre, Augustin, 180.
 Petre, Catherine, Lady, 252, 255, 256.
 Petre, Father Edward, 245, 258.
 Petre, Edward, 250.
 Petre, Elizabeth, Lady, 243.
 Petre, Gertrude, 252.
 Petre, John, 258.
 Petre, Mary, Lady, 176, 241, 245, 252, 256, 258, 303.
 Petre, Robert, 258.
 Petre, Mary F. K., 248.
 Petre, Sebastian, 250, 319.
 Petre, Wm., jun., 28.
 Phillips, Little, 289.
 Piers, C. B., 215, 291.
 Pleshey, 355.
 Pole, Katherine de la, 356.
 Poole, Joseph, 56, 191, 400.
 Poorhouses, 318.
 Pope, 476.
 Porter, Mrs., 280.
 Post office, 329.
 Potters Row, 44, 317.
 Powell, Peter, 207.
 Price, Rector George, 67, 68, 157, 225, 470.
 Price, Mary, 67, 160.
 Pringle, Sir John, 265, 268.
 Pulley, Richard, 172, 212.
 Pyncheon, John, 258.

Queens' College, Cambridge, 188.
 Quick, Mrs., 316.

Ralph de Ginges, 18.
 Ralph, Rector Thomas, 79, 184, 367, 417.

- Rankin, E., 281.
 Ransford, Dr., 328.
 Raven, 319.
 Rawlins, N., 323, 473.
 Rawreth, 185.
 Rayleigh, 44.
 Read, E. and J., 209.
 Red House, 319.
 Redcote, 319.
 Reeve, 372.
 Reeve, Jane, 154.
 Reeve, Judith, 168.
 Reeve, Rev. Nath., 182, 310.
 Reeve, Samuel, 316.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 277.
 Richard II, 353, 354.
 Richardson, Anne, 276.
 Richardson, Richard, 285.
 Richardson, W., 276.
 Rickling, 292.
 Rivenhall, 189, 190.
 Robin the Devil, 242.
 Robinson, Eustace, 307.
 Robynson, P. and W., 476.
 Rochford, 161, 217.
 Rock, E., 319.
 Rock, M., 68.
 Rogers, Samuel, 57.
 Rohaise de Capra (Clare), 33.
 Romans, 6, 350.
 Romford, 333, 361, 381, 383, 385, 386, 394.
 Romney, George, 403.
 Root, S., 470.
 Roothing, Abbess, 14, 93, 94.
 Roothing Aythorp, 113.
 Roothing, Berners, 25.
 Roothing, Margaret, 143.
 Rose, Mrs., 279, 307.
 Roxwell, 27.
 Runwell, 126.

 St. Edmund, 10, 50.
 St. John's College, Cambridge, 128.
 St. John's College, Oxford, 191.
 St. John's Wood, 23.
 St. Leonard, 33.
 St. Leonards, 8, 32, 33, 36-41, 282, 313, 336, 402.
 St. Leonards-atte-Bowe, 33, 35.
 St. Leonards Farm, 315, 372.
 St. Leonards, Little, 307.
 St. Stephen's, Walbrook, 177, 182.
 Salisbury, 165, 167.
 Sandford, A. and T., 216, 316, 472.
 Sandon, 126, 188.
 Sawbridgeworth, 177, 183.
 Saxons, 8.
 Scott, Rev., 148, 188.
 Selden, 140.

 Self, J., 469.
 Sellars, Rev. L., 223, 319.
 Shawe, Thos., 28.
 Shelley, Rich., 25.
 Shenfield Manor, 27.
 Sherrin, F., 306, 319.
 Shodewell, Rector, 357.
 Shrigleigh, Rev. John, 170.
 Shuffrey, L. A., 327.
 Shuttleworth, H. and J., 174, 367.
 Sidgwick, C., 306.
 Sikes, E. H., 280.
 Simons, Rev., 168.
 Sissinghurst, 27.
 Sitch, S., 331.
 Skeffington, Sir W., 153.
 Skinners, 38.
 Slab Cottage, 318.
 Smith, G. P., 65, 319, 330.
 Smith, J. Chaloner, 451.
 Smith, Rev. Samuel, 126.
 Smith, Rector William, 118, 170.
 Smyth, John, 103.
 Smyth, Will., 472.
 Smythe's Hall, 103, 291.
 Smythies, Palmer, 451.
 Snow, John, 473.
 Somaster, 217.
 Somerset, Protector, 25, 230.
 Sorrell, Rob. and P., 198.
 Sorrell, William, 470.
 South Kelsey, 190.
 Southcott, Edward, 176.
 Southend, 275.
 Southrop, 122, 136, 143, 144.
 Southwell, 167.
 Sparrow Hall, 318.
 Spilfeathers, 203, 279, 315, 331.
 Springfield, 61, 95, 476.
 Springfield, John, 242.
 Stanes, Rich., 176, 290.
 Stanford Rivers, 355.
 Staple Fitzpaine, 147, 148.
 Stanstead, 13.
 Stanstrete, 16.
 Steed, R., 286.
 Stewart, 334.
 Stirling-Hamilton, Dr. J., 279.
 Stock, 98, 126, 144, 168, 276, 286, 333.
 Stondon Massey, 25, 356, 402.
 Stonham Aspall, 373.
 Stratford, 16, 355, 358, 385.
 Stratford Langthorne, 13.
 Stratford St. Mary, 380.
 Stubbs, Rev. John, 153.
 Stubbs, Rector Dr. Richard, 56, 100, 148, 206.
 Sturgeon, R. and T., 476.
 Sturgeons, 25.
 Sudbury, Anne, 310.

- Sudbury, Sir John, 309.
 Sunninghill, 154.
 Sutton, Daniel, 260, 271, 307.
 Sutton Daniel, jun., 274.
 Sutton, Frances D., 274, 276.
 Sutton, Robert, 260, 271, 276.
 Swinderby, 296.
- Tabor, T., 476.
 Talbois, Lady E., 360.
 Talbot, A. and T., 209.
 Tan House, 46, 473.
 Tancock, Rev. Canon O. W., 193, 204, 451.
 Tasmania, 276.
 Taylor, Capt., 242.
 Taylor, John, 321.
 Taylor, Rev. Thos., 183.
 Tempest, Elizabeth, 310.
 Temple, Inner, 292, 297.
 Theydon Gernon, 268.
 Thoby, 25, 27, 28, 33, 36-8, 40, 41, 317, 402.
 Thomas (harpist), 316.
 Thompson, Clerk, 55.
 Thompson, Thos., 473.
 Thorndon, 72, 249, 302, 377, 401.
 Thorndon, West, 259.
 Tilbury, West, 170.
 Tilekilns, 318.
 Tiles, 161, 316, 336.
 Titus Oates, 242, 245.
 Tor Bryan, 318.
 Totham, Much, 113.
 Totnes, 155.
 Tower, the, 242, 246.
 Tressilian, Chief Justice, 354.
 Trinobantes, 5, 70.
 Troughton, J., 214.
 Trueloves, 216, 316, 402.
 Tufnell, Rector Frederick, 162.
 Tufnell, Rev. George, 190.
 Turnedge, W. and A., 211, 305, 469.
 Turner, John, 39, 473.
 Turner, N., 470.
 Turner, Smith, 286.
 Turnstall, Will., 113.
 Tyrell, G. and J., 217.
 Tyrell, Thomas, 28.
 Twelve Score Prick, 337, 467.
 Twining, fam., 451.
- Upton, J. R. and Mrs., 69, 291.
 Urquhart, C. F., 279.
- Vere, fam., 19, 35, 39, 44, 45, 325.
 Vernon, 292.
- Waddell, John, 35.
- Wadham College, 27, 29, 32, 119-21, 136, 141, 146, 148, 155, 158, 160-2, 169, 281, 459, 471.
 Wadham, Dorothy (Petre), 28, 29, 119, 121, 170.
 Wadham, Nich., 28, 29.
 Waghorn, E., 469.
 Wallenger, T., 476.
 Walls, Giles, 269.
 Walmesley, fam., 187, 215, 451.
 Walmesley, Catherine, 247.
 Walmesley, Henry, 287, 470.
 Walpole, Horace, 248.
 Waltham, Great, 356.
 Waltham, Little, 402.
 Walton, Brian, 127.
 Wash, the, 391.
 Wat Tyler, 353.
 Waterloo, 276, 400.
 Way, Lewis, 316.
 Weald, North, 16.
 Weald, South, 104, 385.
 Weestley, R. and W., 277.
 Wellmead, 317, 339.
 West, George, 81, 337.
 West Ham, 13.
 Westfrid, 15, 23, 33, 34, 409.
 Weston Bamfylde, 160, 161.
 Whetcombe, fam., 29, 409.
 Whetcombe, Peter, 29, 125, 241.
 Whichcord, W., 58, 212, 469.
 White, John, 174.
 Whittlebury Forest, 274.
 Widford, 76, 362, 382.
 Wigan, Capt., 317.
 Wigg, Mr., 275.
 Wilde, E. J., 287.
 Wilford, Will., 38-40.
 Willesford, 40.
 William III, 366.
 William of Sens, 95.
 Willingale Doe and Spain, 286.
 Willis, fam., 211, 281.
 Willis, Rector John, 73, 102, 170, 281.
 Willis, S., 211, 470.
 Windley, Ch., 78, 390.
 Winstanley, C., 215, 328.
 Winterflood, T., 473.
 Witham, 190, 373, 376, 384.
 Wivenhoe, 276.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 41.
 Wood, John, 473.
 Wood, Lt., 276.
 Wood, Lt. Rich., 215.
 Wood, Lt.-Col. Wilding Wood, 318, 339.
 Wood Barns, 12, 44, 78, 317, 372, 473.
 Wood Grange, 38.
 Woodcock Lodge, 7, 290.

Woodham Ferris, 129.
 Woodward, Rector John, 165, 222, 238.
 Woolwich, 191.
 Wootton, Will, 39.

Worlock, F. and S., 277.
 Wotherspoon, David, 319.
 Writtle, 25, 28, 104, 238, 258, 351.
 Wyllie, A., 317.

NAMES OF INNS

Anchor, 179, 280, 323, 324, 472.
 Bell, 179, 323, 324, 368, 372.
 Bird-in-hand, 323, 332.
 Black Boy, 472.
 Black Boy, Chelmsford, 381.
 Blue Boar, 323, 325.
 Blue Posts, Witham, 384.
 Boot, 323, 324, 334, 402.
 Buck's Head, 472.
 Bull, 323, 325, 472.
 Chequers, 323, 325, 473.
 Cock, 323, 325, 429.
 Cross Chambers, 473.
 Crosskeys, 323, 325, 473.
 Crown, 239, 323, 325, 404.
 Davy's beerhouse, 332.
 Dolphin, 323, 325.
 Duke's Head, 323, 326.
 Eagle, 179, 239, 323, 326, 328, 472.

George, 323, 325, 451.
 Ipswich Arms, 330.
 Lion, 179, 323, 327, 452.
 Maypole, 323, 328, 330.
 New Inn, 323, 328, 473.
 Queen's Head, 323.
 Red Lion, Margaretting, 389.
 Royal Oak, 323, 328.
 Ship, 323, 328, 472.
 Star, 323, 329.
 Swan, 261, 323, 329, 378.
 Three Compasses, 472.
 Three Cups, Harwich, 383.
 Three Nuns, 472.
 Viper, 44, 323, 329.
 White Hart, 239, 323, 330.
 White Hart, Romford, 386.
 White Horse, 323.
 Woolpack, 279, 315, 323, 328, 330, 393.

SUBJECT INDEX

- A. E. I. O. U., 256, 475.
 Almshouses, 225, 458, 459.
 Antiquities, 293, 294, 297, 314.
 Archdeacon's Hooks, 110, 115, 116, 166-8, 170, 174, 176, 178, 473.
 Assizes, Chelmsford, 113, 216.

 Barn, Ingatestone Hall, 305.
 Barrows, 5.
 Bells, 98.
 Bell-founding, 104.
 Bell-ringing, 100, 103, 138, 167, 471.
 Black Death, 260, 351.
 Boulders, 4, 7.
 Brasses, 65, 107, 109, 213, 215.
 Bricks, 7, 24, 44, 61, 280, 309.
 Briefs, 57.
 Bronze Age, 5.
 Burial in Churches, 56, 179.
 Butterflies, 336, 338.

 Cage, the, 399, 468, 471.
 Carriers, 203, 392.
 Carts and waggons, 373, 389, 392.
 Cattle, 369, 370, 393.
 Cattle in Churchyard, 174, 473.
 Cattle Plague, 370.
 Chalk, 3.
 Charities, 158, 215, 225, 454.
 Charters, old, 409.
 Chests, Parish, 151, 302, 452.
 Chickens, fattened, 370.
 Churches, early, 9, 10, 14, 24, 49.
 Churchyards, 473, 474.
 Cider, 346, 373.
 Clergy deprived or suspended, 112, 113, 119, 120, 123, 124, 130, 176.
 Clerks, Parish, 55, 191, 400.
 Coaches, 322, 380, 391, 394.
 Coins, 333.
 Communion Plate, 70, 78, 473, 474, 477.
 — administered, 58, 167, 186, 473, 474.
 Congregational Chapel, 223.
 Court Rolls, Fryerning, 317, 471.

 Dialect Words, 345.
 Doctors in old days, 174, 177, 197, 198, 215, 262, 403, 451.
 Dogs, 18, 392.
 Domesday Book, 11, 281.

 Earthquake, 82, 341.

 Fair days, 50, 52, 393, 394.
 Ferns, 338.
 Fields, and names of, 42, 463, 472.
 Fire-backs and stoves, 288, 291, 326, 327.
 Fishponds, and breeding, 299, 308, 329, 370.
 Flints, 4, 14, 38, 61.
 Flowers, 337.
 Fonts, 84, 97.
 — Superstition, 96, 97.
 — Symbolism, 84.
 Footpaths, 161, 280, 316, 349.
 Forest, and Claims, 16, 172.
 Foxes, 339.
 Frescoes, 62, 74.
 Frid, 34.
 Funerals in old days, 208, 357.

 Gallery, 59, 60, 64, 75.
 Geology, 3.
 Ghosts, 234, 324, 402.
 Ginge Petre Charity, 225, 459.
 Glass, old, 45, 66, 300.
 Gleaning, 100, 103, 166, 404.
 Glebe, 281, 306.

 Hailstorm, 1897, 341.
 Helmets, Ingatestone Church, 401.
 Hide of Land, 11, 291.
 Hiding-places, 239, 301, 330.
 Highwaymen, 274, 392.
 Honey, 12.
 Hops, 336, 467.
 Hourglass, 73.

 Inns, 320, 451, 452, 472, 473.
 Inoculation, 260; advertisements of, 261-3; Sutton's profit, 263, 269, 272; Sutton's treatment, 261, 264; 'Suttonian,' 277; Thanksgiving for successful, 265; in Russia, 268, 269; unsuccessful cases, 260, 264, 266, 269; in Vienna, 265, 268.
 Inscriptions, Fryerning, 205.
 — Ingatestone, 212, 251.

 Lavender at Chelmsford, 377.
 Leather goods, 290.
 Limestone headstones, 207.

 Mantelpieces, 314, 327, 328.
 Medal for Great Exhibition, 159.

Milk sent to London, 335.
 Mill dams, 38, 42, 282, 289.
 Ministers at Congregational Chapel, 415.
 Morris dancing, 362.
 Moths, 338.
 Music in Churches, 54, 55, 57, 139, 143.

 Names of fields and houses, old, 472, 475.

 Organs, 58, 68, 80, 81, 191.

 Panelling, oak, 26, 279, 281, 284, 326.
 Paquet boat, 374.
 Parish accounts, 453, 468.
 Parishes, names of, 7, 31, 475.
 Peasant rising, 22, 353, 471.
 Pews, 59, 179, 291.
 Pipes, old hand made, 282.
 Piscina, 51, 63, 73.
 Plague, 132, 203, 260, 351.
 Ploughs, 11, 42, 335.
 Porches, Church, 63, 72, 73, 181, 452.
 Post, first Royal, 363.
 Pottery, 44.
 Priests at Ingatestone Hall, 415.
 Prize-fight, 378.

 Railway, 158, 335.
 Rainfall, 339.
 Rectors, list of, 413.
 Registers, 193, 418.
 Responding in Church, 55.
 Restoration of Churches, 63, 65, 75, 82, 161, 191.
 Roads, 8, 349, 362, 372, 389, 390, 391, 472.
 Roadside wastes, 280, 393.
 Roman Catholic Church, 221.
 Rood lofts, 23, 26, 53, 62, 71.
 Royal coat of arms, 64.
 Rye House Plot, 181.

Sabbath breaking, 166.
 Screens, Church, 23, 72.
 Serf labour, 11, 42, 352.
 Serjeanty, 43.
 Sexes separated in Church, 179.
 Ship-money list, 172.
 Small-pox, 179, 260, 309.
 Smugglers, 324.
 Soldiers, 202, 382, 384.
 Sun, Moon, and Stars, 85, 93, 258.
 Surplices, 113, 115, 453, 471, 474.
 Symbolism, 84, 258.

Tanning, 46, 290.
 Tapestry, 301.
 Tithes, 140, 159.
 Tokens, Tradesmen's, 330, 332.
 Towers, 62, 74, 82, 473.
 Trees, 474.
 — Cedar, 307, 336.
 — Firs, Scotch, 152, 209, 337.
 — Hollies, 336.
 — Hornbeams, 145, 288, 336.
 — Oaks, 154, 278, 281, 336.
 — Poplars, 336.
 — Yews, 152, 336, 404.
 Turkeys, 394.

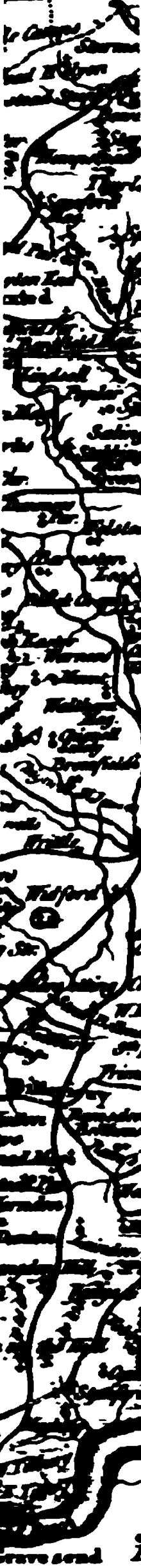
Underground passages, 41, 317, 402.

Vaults, 56, 59, 153, 236, 243, 245, 247, 249, 285.
 Vipers, 329.

Weeds, 338.
 Whale's jaw-bones, 404.
 Wills, 117, 142, 145, 146, 148, 185, 187, 283, 286, 293, 295, 310, 416, 451, 452, 457, 472.
 Witches, 401.
 Woollen industry, 393.
 — burials in, 153, 201.

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